

DISSERTATION

ON THE

PROPHECIES,

WHICH HAVE

REMARKABLY BEEN FULFILLED,

AND AT THIS TIME

ARE FULFILLING IN THE WORLD.

By THOMAS NEWTON, D.D.

LATE LORD BISHOP OF BRISTOL.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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DISSERTATION XXVI.

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XXIV.

AN ANALYSIS

OF THE

REVELATION.

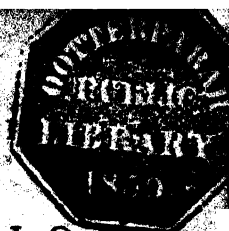
IN TWO PARTS.



PART I.

IT is very useful, as well as very curious and entertaining, to trace the rise and progress of religions and governments; and in taking a survey of all the different religions and governments of the world, there is none perhaps that will strike us more with wonder and astonishment than that of Rome, how such a mystery of iniquity could succeed at first and prosper so long, and under the name of Christ introduce Antichrist. Other heresies and schisms have obtained place and credit among men for a time, and then have been happily exposed and suppressed. Arianism once succeeded almost universally; for a while it grew and flourished mightily, but in process of time it withered and faded away. But Popery hath ~~now~~ prevailed I know not how many centuries, and her renowned hierarchs have not, like the fathers of other sects, stole into secret meetings and conventicles, but have infected the very heart of the Christian church, and usurped the chief seat of the western world: have not only engaged in their cause private persons, and *led captive filly women*, but have trampled on the necks of princes and emperors themselves, and the lords and tyrants of mankind have yet been the blind slaves and vassals of the holy See. Rome Christian hath carried her conquests even farther than Rome Pagan. The Romanists themselves make universality and perpetuity the special marks and characters of their church; and no people more industrious than they in *compassing sea and land to make proselytes*.

All sincere protestants cannot but be greatly grieved the success and prevalence of this religion, and the pa-



pists as much boast and glory in it, and for this reason proudly denominate theirs *the catholic religion*. But it will abate all confidence on the one hand, and banish all scruples on the other; if we consider that this is nothing more than what was signified before-hand by the Spirit of prophecy. It is directly foretold, that there should be such a power, as that of the Pope of Rome, exercised in the Christian church, and that it should prevail for a long season, but at last should have a fall. Several clear and express prophecies to this purpose have been produced out of Daniel and St Paul in the course of these dissertations: but others clearer still, and more copious and particular, may be found in the Apocalyps or Revelation of St John, who was the greatest as he was the last prophet of the Christian dispensation, and hath comprehended in this book, and pointed out the most memorable events and revolutions in the church, from the apostles days to the confirmation of the mystery of God.

But to this book of the Apocalyps or Revelation it is usually objected, that it is so wrapt and involved in figures and allegories, is so wild and visionary, is so dark and obscure, that any thing or nothing, at least nothing clear and certain, can be proved or collected from it. So learned a man as Scaliger is noted for saying * that Calvin was wise, because he wrote no comment upon the Revelation. A celebrated † wit and divine of our own church hath not scrupled to assert, that that book either finds a man mad, or makes him so. Whitby, though a useful commentator on the other books of the New Testament, would not yet adventure upon the Revelation. "I confess I do it not, ‡ (says he,) for want of wisdom; that is because I have neither sufficient reading nor judgment to discern the intendment of the prophecies contained in that book." Voltaire is pleased to say, that Sir Isaac Newton

* Calvinus sapit, quod in Apocalypsin non scripsit. Vide Scaligerana secunda, p. 41. But Scaliger was not very consistent in his opinion of the Revelation. For as the Bishop of Rochester remarks he says in another place, Hoc possum gloriari me nihil ignorare eorum quæ in Apocalypsi, Canonico vere libro, prophetice scribuntur, præter illud caput in quo septies repetitur: ignore enim idne tempus præterierit, an futurum sit. Scaligerana tertia, p. 13.

† Dr South. See Vol. 2. Sermon II. p. 412. 6th Edit.

‡ See Whitby's pref. to his Treatise of the Millennium.

Newton wrote his comment upon the Revelation, to console mankind for the great superiority that he had over them in other respects: but Voltaire, though a very agreeable, is yet a very superficial writer, and often mistaken in his judgment of men and things. He never was more mistaken, than in affirming that Sir Isaac Newton has explained the Revelation in the same manner with all those who went before him; a most evident proof that he had never read either the one or the others, for if ever he had read them, he must have perceived the difference. However it is undeniable that even the most learned men have miscarried in nothing more than in their comments and explanations of this book. To explain this book perfectly is not the work of one man or of one age: and probably it will never all be clearly understood, till it is all fulfilled. It is a memorable thing, that Bishop Burnet * relates to this purpose of his friend the most learned Bishop Lloyd of Worcester. He says that that excellent person was employed above twenty years in studying the Revelation with an amazing diligence and exactness, and that he had foretold and proved from the Revelation the peace made between the Turk and the emperor in the year 1668 long before it was made, and that after this he said the time of the Turk's hurting the papal Christians was at an end: and he was so positive in this, that he consented that all his scheme should be laid aside, if † ever the Turk engaged in a new war with them. But it is very well known, that the Turk and the Emperor have engaged in a new war since that time, and probably may engage again, so that by his own consent all his scheme is to be laid aside: and if so great a master of learning, so nice a critic in chronology and history, one who perhaps understood the prophetic writings better than any man of his time, was so grossly mistaken in the most positive of his calculations,

B 3

* Burnet's History of his own times. Vol. 2. p. 204.

† Upon reflection I think it not impossible that Bishop Burnet might mistake, and so might misrepresent Bishop Lloyd's meaning. If he said indeed, that the Turks would never engage in a new war with the papal Christians, he was plainly in the wrong, the event hath shewn that he was in the wrong. If he said only that the Turks would no more hurt the papal Christians, would no more subdue any Christian state or potentate, he was probably in the right; the prophet seemeth to intimate the same thing, and the event hitherto confirms it.

calculations, it may serve at least as an admonition to others of inferior abilities to beware how they meddle with these matters, and rather to avoid the rocks and shoals about which they see so many shipwrecks.

Not that this book is therefore to be despised or neglected. They who censure and dissuade the study of it, do it for the most part because they have not studied it themselves, and imagine the difficulties to be greater than they are in reality. It is still 'the sure word of prophecy; and men of learning and leisure cannot better employ their time and abilities than in studying and explaining this book, provided they do it, as Lord * Bacon adviseth, "with great wisdom, sobriety, and reverence." Lord Bacon adviseth it with regard to all the prophecies, but such caution and reverence are more especially due to this of St John. "The folly of interpreters has been, as Sir Isaac Newton † observes, to foretel times and things by this prophecy, as if God designed to make them prophets. By this rashness they have not only exposed themselves, but brought the prophecy also into contempt. The design of God was much otherwise. He gave this and the prophecies of the Old Testament, not to gratify mens curiosities, by enabling them to foreknow things, but that after they were fulfilled they might be interpreted by the event, and his own providence, not the interpreters, be then manifested thereby to the world." If therefore we could confine ourselves to the rules of just criticism, and not indulge lawless and extravagant fancies; if we would be content with sober and genuine interpretation, and not pretend to be prophets, nor presume to be wise above what is written; we should more consider those passages which have already been accomplished, than frame conjectures about those which remain yet to be fulfilled. Where the facts may be compared with the predictions, there we have some clue to guide us through the labyrinth: and though it may be difficult to trace out every minute resemblance, yet there are some strong lines and features, which I think cannot fail of striking every one, who will but impartially and duly examine them.

We

* — Magna cum sapientia, sobrietate, et reverentia—See the quotation prefixed to the Introduction.

† Sir Isaac Newton's Observations upon the Apocalyps. Chap. I. p. 351.

We should be wanting to the subject, and leave our work unfinished, if we should omit so material a part of prophecy. And yet such a disquisition is not to be entered upon hastily, but after a diligent perusal of the best authors, both foreign and domestic; and it will be happy, if out of them all there can be formed one entire system, complete and consistent in all its parts. As Sir Isaac Newton * says, "Amongst the interpreters of the last age there is scarce one of note who hath not made some discovery worth knowing." But our greatest obligations are owing to three particularly, Mr Mede, Vitringa, and De Witz. We shall find reason generally to concur with one or more of them; but as they often differ from each other, so we shall differ sometimes from all the three, and follow other guides, or perhaps no guides at all. What satisfaction we may give to others, is very uncertain; we shall at least have the satisfaction ourselves of tracing the ways of providence. It is little encouragement to this kind of studies to reflect, that two of the most learned men of their times, as well as two of the best interpreters of this book, Mr Mede and Mr Daubuz, the one died a fellow of the college, and the other a vicar of a poor vicarage in Yorkshire. Mr Mede, as we read in the memoirs of his life, was so modest, that he wished for nothing more than a donative or sinecure to be added to his fellowship; but even this he could not obtain.

Alas! what boots it with incessant care
To tend the homely slighted shepherd's trade,
And strictly meditate the thankless Muse?
Were it not better done as others use, &c.

MILTON'S LYCIDAS.

But however let us proceed, encouraged by that divine benediction, 'Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein.'

CHAP. I.

1 THE Revelation of unto his servants things
Jesus Christ, which which must shortly come to
God gave unto him, to shew pass; and he sent and sig-
nified.

* Sir Isaac Newton, *ibid.* p. 253.

nified it by his angel unto his servant John:

2 Who bare record of the word of God, and of the testimony of Jesus Christ, and of all things that he saw.

The book opens, ver. 1, 2, 3. with the title or inscription of the book itself; the scope and design of it, to foretel things which should shortly begin to be fulfilled, and succeed in their due season and order, till all were accomplished; and the blessing pronounced on him who shall read and explain it, and on them who shall hear and attend to it. The distinction is remarkable of 'him that readeth, *and of them that hear;*' for books being then in manuscript, were in much fewer hands, and it was a much readier way to publish a prophecy or any thing by public reading than by transcribing copies. It was too the custom of that age to read all the apostolical writings in the congregation of the faithful; but now only some few parts of this book are appointed to be read on certain festivals.

4 John to the seven churches which are in Asia: Grace be unto you, and peace from him which is, and which was, and which is to come; and from the seven spirits which are before his throne;

5 And from Jesus Christ, *who is* the faithful witness, *and* the first begotten of the dead, and the prince of the kings of the earth: Unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood,

6 And hath made us kings and priests unto God and his

3 Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein: for the time is at hand.

Father; to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

7 Behold he cometh with clouds, and every eye shall see him, and they *also* which pierced him: ~~and~~ all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of him: even so, Amen.

8 I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty.

The apostle dedicates his book, ver. 4, 5, 6. to the seven churches of the Lydian or proconsular Asia, wishing them grace and peace from the eternal God as the author and giver, and from the seven spirits, the representatives and ministers

ministers of the Holy Ghost, as the instruments; and from Jesus Christ as the Mediator, who is mentioned last, because the subsequent discourse more immediately relates to him.) To the dedication he subjoins a short and solemn preface, ver. 7, 8. to shew the great authority of the divine person, who had commissioned him to write the Revelation.

9 I John, who also am your brother, and companion, in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, was in the isle that is called Patmos, for the word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ.

10 I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day, and heard behind me a great voice, as of a trumpet,

11 Saying, I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last: and, What thou seest, write in a book, and send it unto the seven churches which are in Asia; unto Ephesus, and unto Smyrna, and unto Pergamos, and unto Thyatira, and unto Sardis, and unto Philadelphia, and unto Laodicea.

12 And I turned to see the voice that spake with me, and being turned, I saw seven golden candlesticks;

13 And in the midst of the seven candlesticks, one like unto the Son of man, clothed with a garment down to the foot, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle.

14 His head and his hairs were white like wool, as white as snow; and his eyes were as a flame of fire;

15 And his feet like unto fine brass as if they burned in a furnace; and his voice as the sound of many waters.

16 And he had in his right hand seven stars; and out of his mouth went a sharp two edged sword: and his countenance was as the sun shineth in his strength.

17 And when I saw him, I fell at his feet as dead: and he laid his right hand upon me, saying unto me, Fear not; I am the first and the last:

18 I am he that liveth, and was dead; and behold I am alive for ever more, Amen; and have the keys of hell and death.

19 Write the things which thou hast seen, and the things which are, and the things which shall be hereafter.

20 The mystery of the seven stars which thou sawest in my right hand, and the seven golden candlesticks.

The

DESSERTATION ON

The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches : which thou sawest, are the seven churches.
and the seven candlesticks

He then, ver. 9—20. mentions the place, where the Revelation was given, and describes the manner and circumstances of the first vision. The place, where the Revelation was given, was Patmos, a desolate island in the Archipelago, whither he was banished for the confession of the gospel. It is not well known, at what time, or by whom he was banished into this island ; but we may suppose it to have happened in the reign of Nero more probably than in that of Domitian. It is indeed the more general opinion, that the Apocalyps was written in Domitian's reign ; and this opinion is founded upon the * testimony of Irenæus, who was the disciple of Polycarp, who had been the disciple of St John. This authority is great, and is made still greater, as it is confirmed by † Eusebius in his Chronicle and in his Ecclesiastical History. But Eusebius a little afterwards in the ‡ same history recites a memorable story out of Clemens Alexandrinus ; that St John, after he returned from Patmos, committed a hopeful young man to the care of a certain bishop ; that the bishop received him into his house, educated, instructed, and at length baptized him ; that the bishop afterwards remitting of his care and strictness, the young man was corrupted by idle and dissolute companions, revelled with them, robbed with them, and forming them into a gang of high-way men was made their captain, and became the terror of all the country ; that after some time St John coming upon other occasions to revisit the same bishop, inquired after the young man, and was informed that he was not to be found in the church, but in such a mountain with his fellow-robbers ; that St John called for a horse, and rode immediately to the place ; that when the young man saw him, he fled away from him ; that St John forgetting his age eagerly pursued after him, recalled him, and restored him to the church. Now all these transactions must necessarily take up some years ;

* Iren. advers. Hæres. Lib. 5. Cap. 30. p. 449. Edit. Græc.

† Eusebii Chron. Lib. 1. Edit. Scalig. p. 80. Gr. p. 44. Lat. Vide etiam, p. 64. Libri posterioris, et Chron. Can. p. 108. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 3. Cap. 18.

‡ Euseb. Hist. ibid. Cap. 23.

years; and may seem credible if St John was banished by Nero, but are altogether impossible if he was banished by Domitian; for he survived Domitian but a very few years, and he was then near 100 years old, and so very weak and infirm, that he * was with great difficulty carried to church, and could hardly speak a few words to the people, and much less ride briskly after a young robber. Epiphanius † asserts, that he was banished into Patmos, and wrote the Apocalyps there, in the reign of Claudius: but Epiphanius being not a correct writer, he might possibly mistake Claudius for his successor Nero, especially as Nero had assumed the name of Claudius, by whom he was adopted, Nero Claudius Cæsar. This date is perhaps near as much too early, as the time of Domitian is too late. The churches of Syria have thus ‡ inscribed their version; “The Revelation made to John the Evangelist by God in the island Patmos into which he was banished by Nero the Cæsar.” The ancient commentators || Andreas and Arethas affirm, that it was understood to be written before the destruction of Jerusalem. But if it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, it might naturally be expected that such a memorable event would not have been unnoticed in this prediction; and neither was it unnoticed in this prediction, as will be seen hereafter. Our Saviour’s repeating so frequently in this book, ‘Behold I come quickly—Behold, he cometh with clouds, and every eye shall see him, and they also who pierced him, and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of him’—and the like expressions, cannot surely be so well understood of any other event as of the destruction of Jerusalem, which coming was also spoken of in the gospels, and what other coming was there so speedy and conspicuous? So many spurious Apocalypses, written by Cerinthus and others in early times, demonstrate evidently that the Apocalyps of St John in imitation whereof they were written, was still earlier, and was held in high estimation

* Hieron. in Epist. ad Galat. Cap. 6. Tom. 4. Part Prior. Col 314. Edit. Benedict.

† Epiphanius. advers. Hæres. Lib. 2. Tom. 2. Sect. 12. p. 424 Sect. 33. p. 456. Edit. Petav.

‡ Revelatio. quæ facta est Joanni evangelistæ a Deo in Patmos-insula, in quam injectus fuit a Nerone Cæsare.

|| Andreas in Apoc. VI. 16. Arethas in Apoc. XVIII. 19.

effusion among Christians. But what is to me an unanswerable argument, the style itself, so full of Hebraisms, and as I may say so full of barbarisms, and even solecisms, as some * even of the ancients have observed, manifestly evinces, that the author was but lately come out of Judea, was little accustomed to write in Greek, and had not yet attained to the greater purity of style, which appears in his Gospels and Epistles. On the contrary it is urged, that there are internal marks in the book itself of its being of a later date than Nero's reign, that the churches of Asia could not have changed and degenerated so much in so short a space of time, that they had not then been exposed to persecution, nor had Antipas suffered martyrdom at Pergamos, the persecutions by Nero being confined to the metropolis of the empire. But why might not St John charge the churches of Asia with having degenerated and 'fallen from their first love,' as well as St Paul accuse the church of Corinth, 1 Cor. iii. 3. of being *carnal* and having 'envying, and strife, and divisions among them;' or complain of the churches of Galatia, Galat. i. 6. 'I marvel that ye are so soon removed from him that called you into the grace of Christ unto another gospel,' iii. 1. 'O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you that ye should not obey the truth, before whose eyes Jesus Christ hath been evidently set forth;' or write to Timothy the first Bishop of Ephesus, 2 Tim. i. 15. 'Thus thou knowest that all they which are in Asia be turned away from me?' Why might not the churches of Asia be liable to persecution, when it is said, 2 Tim. iii. 12. that 'all who live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution;' when unto the Philippians, i. 29, 'it was given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake;' and when the Thessalonians, 1 Thess. ii. 14. 'suffered like things of their own countrymen, as the churches in Judea of the Jews;' and manifested, 2 Thess. i. 4. 'their patience and faith in all their persecutions and tribulations which they endured?' As for Antipas there is no genuine history or authentic

* *ἡλιχίοι μιν τοὶ καὶ γλωσσῶν καὶ ἀκρίβει ἀλλήλοισιν αὐτοὶ ἐλάττω, ἀλλ' ἰδιώματι μιν βαρβαρικοῖς χρημεῖται καὶ πῶς καὶ πολεμίζονται.* Verum dictio- nem ejus non admodum Græcam animadverto, sed barbarismis atque interdum solecismis inquinatam, Dionysius Alex. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 7. Cap. 25.

authentic account of him? it is not known, whether or what he was, when he suffered, or who caused him to be put to death, so that nothing can be from thence inferred one way or other. Neither is it certain that the persecutions by Nero were confined to the metropolis; they raged indeed most there, but were extended likewise over all the provinces, as * Orosius testifies with others. Sir Isaac Newton hath farther † shown, that in the Epistles of St Peter, and in St Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, there are several allusions to this book of the Apocalyp; and St Peter and St Paul, all the ancients agree, suffered martyrdom in the end of Nero's reign. It may indeed be retorted, that St John might borrow from St Peter and St Paul, as well as St Peter and St Paul from St John; but if you will consider and compare the passages together, you will find sufficient reason to be convinced, that St Peter's and St Paul's are the copies, and St John the original. Moreover it is to be observed, that this Revelation was given on the Lord's day, when the apostle's heart and affections, as we may reasonably suppose, were sublimed by the meditations and devotions of the day, and rendered more recipient of divine inspiration. The heavenly visions were vouchsafed to St John, as they were before to Daniel, Dan. ix, x. after supplication and prayer: and there being ‡ two kinds of prophetic revelation in a vision and a dream, the Jews accounted a vision superior to a dream, as representing things more perfectly and ~~more~~ life.

In the first vision Jesus Christ, or his angel, speaking in his name, and acting in his person, appears amid 'the seven golden candlesticks,' meaning 'the seven churches.' His clothing is somewhat like the high priest's, and he is described much in the same manner as the divine appearances in Daniel's visions, Dan. vii. 9. x. 5, &c. St John at the sight of so glorious a person fell down senseless before him, as Daniel did upon the same occasion; and

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C

like

* *Primus Romæ Christianos suppliciis et mortibus affect; ac per omnes provincias pari persecutione exercitum imperavit Lib. 7. Cap. 7. p. 173. Edit. Havercamp.*

† Sir Isaac Newton's Obs. upon the Apoc. Chap. 1. p. 139—146.

‡ In istis duabus partibus, *somnio et visione*, continentur omnes prophetiæ gradus. Maimon. in More Nevoch. Part. 2. Cap. 36. Smith's Discourse of Prophecy, Chap. 2. p. 174, 175.

DISSERTATIONS ON

like Daniel too, he is graciously raised and encouraged, and commanded to write 'the things which he had seen,' contained in this chapter, 'and the things which are,' the present state of the seven churches represented in the two next chapters, 'and the things which shall be hereafter,' the future events which begin to be exhibited in the fourth chapter, as it is there said, *ve. 1.* 'Come up hither, and I will shew thee things which must be hereafter.'

C H A P. II.

1 **U**NTO the angel of the church of Ephesus, write, These things saith he that holdeth the seven stars in his right hand, who walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks.

2 I know thy works, and thy labour, and thy patience, and how thou canst not bear them which are evil: and thou hast tried them which say they are apostles, and are not; and hast found them liars:

3 And hast borne, and hast patience, and for my name's sake hast laboured, and hast not fainted.

4 Nevertheless I have somewhat against thee, because thou hast left thy first love.

5 Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent.

6 But this thou hast, that

thou hatest the deeds of the Nicolaitans, which I also hate.

7 He that hath an ear let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches, To him that overcometh I will give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God.

8 And unto the angel of the church in Smyrna, write, These things saith the first and the last, which was dead, and is alive;

9 I know thy works, and tribulation, and poverty, (but thou art rich), and I know the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews, and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan.

10 Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer: behold, the devil shall cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried; and ye shall have tribulation ten days: be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.

11 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches, He that overcometh, shall not be hurt of the second death.

12 And to the angel of the church in Pergamos, write, These things saith he, which hath the sharp sword with two edges;

13 I know thy works, and where thou dwellest, even where Satan's seat is: and thou holdest fast my name, and hast not denied my faith, even in those days wherein Antipas was my faithful martyr, who was slain among you, where Satan dwelleth.

14 But I have a few things against thee, because thou hast there them that hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balak to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and commit fornication.

15 So hast thou also them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitans, which thing I hate.

16 Repent; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will fight against them with the sword of my mouth.

17 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches, To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden

manna, and will give him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth, saving he that receiveth it.

18 And unto the angel of the church in Thyatira, write, These things saith the Son of God, who hath his eyes like unto a flame of fire, and his feet are like fine brags;

19 I know they works, and charity, and service, and faith, and thy patience, and thy works; and the last to be more than the first.

20 Notwithstanding, I have a few things against thee, because thou sufferest that woman Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess, to teach and to seduce my servants to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed unto idols.

21 And I gave her space to repent of her fornication, and she repented not.

22 Behold, I will cast her into a bed, and them that commit adultery with her into great tribulation, except they repent of their deeds.

23 And I will kill her children with death; and all the churches shall know that I am he which searcheth the reins and hearts; and I will give unto every one of you according to your works.

24 But unto you I say,

and unto the rest in Thyatire, As many as have not this doctrine, and which have not known the depths of Satan, as thy speak, I will put upon you none other burden.

25 But that which ye have *already*, hold fast till I come.

26 And he that overcometh and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I

give power over the nations;

27 (And he shall rule them with a rod of iron: as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to shivers) even as I received of my Father.

28 And I will give him the morning star.

29 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

CHAP. III.

1 **A**ND unto the angel of the church in Sardis, write, These things saith he that hath the seven Spirits of God, and the seven stars; I know thy works, that thou hast a name, that thou livest, and art dead.

2 Be watchful and strengthen the things which remain, that are ready to die: for I have not found thy works perfect before God.

3 Remember therefore how thou hast received and heard, and hold fast, and repent. If therefore thou shalt not watch, I will come on thee as a thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee.

4 Thou hast a few names even in Sardis, which have not defiled their garments; and they shall walk with me in white: for they are worthy.

5 He that overcometh the same shall be clothed in white raiment: and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life, but I will confess his name before my Father, and before his angels.

6 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

7 And to the angel of the church in Philadelphia, write, These things saith he that is holy, he that is true, he that hath the key of David, he that openeth, and no man shutteth: and shutteth, and no man openeth:

8 I know thy works, behold, I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it: for thou hast a little strength, and hast kept my word, and hast not denied my name.

9 Behold,

10 Behold, I will make them of the synagogue of Satan (which say they are Jews, and art not, but do lie) behold, I will make them to come and worship before thy feet, and to know that I have loved thee.

10 Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth.

11 Behold, I come quickly: hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy crown.

12 Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, *which is new Jerusalem*, which cometh down out of heaven from my God: and *I will write upon him my new name.*

13 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

14 And unto the angel of the church of the Laodiceans, write, These things saith the Amen, the faithful and true witness, the beginning of the creation of God:

15 I know thy works, that

thou art neither cold nor hot: I would thou wert cold or hot.

16 So then, because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth:

17 Because thou sayest, I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing: and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked.

18 I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire, that thou mayest be rich; and white raiment, that thou mayest be clothed, and *that* the shame of thy nakedness do not appear; and anoint thine eyes with eye-salve, that thou mayest see.

19 As many as I love, I rebuke, and chasten: be zealous therefore, and repent.

20 Behold, I stand at the door, and knock: if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me.

21 To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne.

22 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

DISSERTATIONS ON

The second and third chapters contain the seven epistles to the seven churches of Asia, Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamus, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea. These seven are addressed particularly, because they were under St John's immediate inspection; he * constituted bishops over them; he was as it were their metropolitan, and resided much at Ephesus, which is therefore named the first of the seven. The main subjects too of this book are comprised of sevens, seven churches, seven seals, seven trumpets, and seven vials; as seven was also a mystical number throughout the Old Testament. Many contend, and among them such learned men as More and Vitrunga, that the seven epistles are prophetic of so many successive periods and states of the church from the beginning to the conclusion of all. But it doth not appear, that there are or were to be seven periods of the church, neither more nor less; and no two men can agree in assigning the same periods. There are likewise in these epistles several innate characters, which are peculiar to the church of that age, and cannot be so well applied to the church of any other age. Besides other arguments, there is also this plain reason; the last state of the church is described in this very book as the most glorious of all, but in the last state in these epistles, that of Laodicea, the church is represented as 'wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked.'

But though these epistles have rather a literal than a mystical meaning, yet they contain excellent moral precepts and exhortations, commendations and reproofs, promises and threatenings, which may be of use and instruction to the church in all ages. The form and order of the parts you will find the same almost in all the epistles; first a command to write; then some character and attributes of the speaker, taken from the vision in the first chapter, and appropriated to the matter of each epistle; then commendations or reproofs with suitable promises or threatenings; and then in all the same conclusion: 'He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.' What therefore the Spirit saith unto one church, he saith in some measure to all the churches.

The

* Tertull. advers. Marcion. Lib. 4. Sect. 5. p. 415. Edit. Reg. Paris 1671. Millii Prolegom. in Nov. Test. p. 10.

The church of Ephesus in particular is admonished to repent, and forewarned that if she would not repent, her candlestick should be removed out of his place.* But this admonition belonged equally to all the churches: and hath not the candlestick been accordingly removed out of its place, and the light of the gospel taken from them? Were they not ruined and overthrown by their heresies and divisions from within, and by the arms of the Saracens from without? and doth not Mohammedism still prevail and prosper in those countries, which were once the glory of Christendom, their churches turned into mosques, their worship into superstition? Ephesus in particular, * which was once so magnificent and glorious a city, is become a mean sordid village, with scarcely a single family of Christians dwelling in it, as approved authors testify. To the church of Smyrna it is predicted, that she should 'have tribulation ten days, or ten years' according to the usual stile of prophecy: and the greatest persecution that the primitive church ever endured was the persecution of Diocletian, which lasted † ten years, and grievously afflicted all the Asian, and indeed all the eastern churches. This character can agree to none of the other general persecutions, for none of the others lasted so long as ten years. As the commendatory and reproving part of these epistles exhibits the present state of the churches, so the promissory and threatening part foretels something of their future condition; and in this sense and in none other, can these epistles be said to be prophetic.

The first epistle is addressed to the church of Ephesus as it was the Metropolis of the Lydian Asia, and the place of St John's principal residence. It was, according

* *Hodie enim hæc urbs Asiæ olim magnificentie exemplum, plane sordet, casulis et gurgustis deformata, non civitas, sed vicus: et vix ibidem superest una Christianorum familia, ut ex certis constat testibus, iisdemque eruditus viris, qui hodiernam Ephesum descripserunt, Smitho (Notit. Sept. Eccles. As. p. 4) et Ricaultio (de Stat. Eccl. Græc. p. 50) Vitring. p. 72, 73.*

† Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 8. Cap. 15. et 15. Lactant. de Mort. Persecut. Cap. 48.

‡ Quæ persecutio omnibus fere ante actis diuturnior.—Nam per decem annos, &c. Oros. Lib. 7. Cap. 25. p. 528. Edit. Havercamp.

ing to * Strabo, one of the best and most glorious cities and the greatest emporium of the proper Asia. It is called by Pliny † one of the eyes of Asia, Smyrna being the other : but now as eye witnesses have related, it is venerable for nothing but the ruins of palaces, temples, and amphitheatres. It is called by the Turks Ajasaluk, or the temple of the moon, from the magnificent structure formerly dedicated to Diana. The church of St Paul is wholly destroyed. The little which remains of that of St Mark is nodding to ruin. The only church remaining is that dedicated to St John, which is now converted into a Turkish mosque. The whole town is nothing but a habitation of herdsmen and farmers, living in low and humble cottages of dirt, sheltered from the extremities of weather by mighty masses of ruinous walls ; the pride and ostentation of former days, and the emblem in these of the frailty of the world, and the transient vanity of human glory. All the inhabitants of this once famous city amount not now to above forty or fifty families of Turks without one Christian family among them ; so strikingly hath the denunciation been fulfilled, that ' their candle stick should be removed out of his place.'

Smyrna was the nearest city to Ephesus, and for that reason probably was addressed in the second place. It is situated || on lower ground than that ancient city, and lieth about forty-five miles northward of Ephesus. It is called Esmir by the Turks, and is celebrated not so much for the splendour and pomp of the buildings (for they are rather mean and ruinous) as for the numbers and wealth and commerce of the inhabitants. The Turks have here fifteen mosques, and the Jews several synagogues. Among these enemies of the Christian name the Christian religion also flourishes in some degree. Smyrna still retains the dignity of a metropolis, although there are only two churches of the Greeks. But besides them,

* Strabo Lib. 14. p. 634. Edit. Paris p. 941. Edit. Amstel. 1707. Lib. 14. p. 577. Edit. Paris p. 865. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

† Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 5. Cap. 31. p. 280. Edit. Harduin.

‡ Smith. Jept. Asia Eccles. Notit. Rycant's Present State of the Greek Church. Chap. 2. Wheler and Spens's Voyage, Van Egmont's and Heyman's Travels, Vol. 1. Chap. 9.

§ Smith. Rycant, Wheler and Spens. ibid. Van Egmont's and Heyman's Travels, Chap. 8.

them; here is a great number of Christians of all nations, sects, and languages. The Latin church hath a monastery of Franciscans. The Armenians have one church. But the English, who are the most considerable number, next to the Greeks and Armenians, have only a chapel in the consul's house; which is a shame, says Wheeler, considering the great wealth they heap up here, beyond all the rest: yet they commonly excel them in their pastor: for I esteem a good English priest, an evangelist, if compared with any of the rest. Frequent plagues and earthquakes are the great calamities of the place; but the Christians are here more considerable, and in a far better condition than in any other of the seven churches: as if the promise was still in some measure made good to Smyrna. 'Fear none of those things, which thou shalt suffer; be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.'

Pergamus, formerly the metropolis of the Hellespontic Mysia, and the seat of the Attalic kings, is * by the Turks with some little variation still called Bergamo, and hath its situation about sixty-four miles to the north of Smyrna. Here are some good buildings but more ruins. All the city almost is occupied by the Turks, very few families of Christians being left, whose state is very sad and deplorable. Here is only one church remaining, dedicated to St Theodorus; and that the name of Christ is not wholly lost and forgotten in Pergamus, is owing to the care of the metropolitan of Smyrna, who continually sends hither a priest to perform the sacred offices. The cathedral church of St John is buried in its own ruins; their angel-bishop removed; and its fair pillars adorn the graves, and rotten carcases of its destroyers, the Turks; who are esteemed about two or three thousand souls in number. Its other fine church, called Santa Sophia, is turned into a mosque, and daily profaned with the blasphemies of the false prophet. There are not in the whole town above a dozen or fifteen families of miserable Christians, who till the ground to gain their bread, and live in the most abject and sordid servitude. There is the less reason to wonder at the wretched condition of this church, when we consider that it was the very 'throne of Satan;'

that

* Smith, Rycart, Wheeler and Spon, *ibid*.

D E S E R T A T I O N S O N

that they 'can greedily after the error of Balaam, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication,' and that 'they held the impure doctrines of the *Pharisees*, which Christ detested.' It was denounced unto them to 'repent, or else he would come unto them quickly, and fight against them,' as the event evinces that he hath done.

Next to Pergamus is Thyatira * situated at the distance of about forty-eight miles to the south-east. Certain heretics called *Alogi* (which may not improperly be interpreted *unreasonable men*) have † affirmed, but have only affirmed without any proof, that at the time of St John's writing there was a Christian church at Thyatira. Epiphanius admits it, and thence infers that St John must have written with a prophetic spirit. The objection is frivolous, and Epiphanius might have returned a better answer than *argumentum ad homines*, and instead of allowing the fact and arguing from thence for the divinity of the book, he should absolutely have denied their affirmation. For there is no just reason for doubting, that at this time there was a Christian church at Thyatira. This very epistle is a sufficient proof of it. It is said expressly, Acts xix. 10. that 'all they who dwell in Asia' (meaning Asia Minor) 'heard the word of the Lord Jesus, both Jews and Greeks:' and what ground is there for thinking that the city of Thyatira was alone excepted? It is said particularly, Acts xvi. 14, that *Lydia*, an eminent trader and 'seller of purple, of the city of Thyatira, was baptized with her household.' At present the city is called by the Turks ‡ Akhifar or the white castle, from the great quantities of white marble there abounding. Only one ancient edifice is left standing. The rest, even the churches, are so destroyed, that no vestiges of them are to be found. The principal inhabitants are Turks, who have here eight mosques, when not so much as one Christian church is still remaining. So terribly have the divine judgments been poured upon this church for 'committing fornication,' and eating things sacrificed unto idols. And I gave her space to repent of her fornication, and she repented not.'

Sardis,

* Smith and Rycant. *ibid*

† Epiphanius *advers. Hæres. Lib. 2. Tom. 1. Cap. 33. p. 455. Vol. 2. Edit. Petav*

‡ Smith and Rycant *ibid*.

Sardis, once the renowned capital of Croesus and the rich Lydian kings, * is now no longer worthy of the name of a city. It lieth about thirty-three miles to the south of Thyatira, and is called by the Turks Sart or Sard, with little or no variation from the low original name. It is a most sad spectacle, nor can one forbear weeping over the ruins of so great a city. For now it is no more than an ignoble village, with low and wretched cottages of clay; nor hath it any other inhabitants, besides shepherds and herdsmen, who feed their flocks and cattle in the neighbouring plains. Yet the great extent and grandeur of the ruins abundantly shew, how large and splendid a city it was formerly. The Turks themselves have only one mosque, a beautiful one indeed, perverted to that use from a Christian church. Very few Christians are here to be found; and they with great patience, or rather senseless stupidity, sustain a miserable servitude; and what is far more miserable, are without a church, without a priest among them. Such is the deplorable state of once the most glorious city: but 'her works were not found perfect, that is they were found blameable, 'before God;' she was *dead*, even while she *lived*; and she is punished accordingly.

Philadelphia, so called from Attalus Philadelphus its builder, † is distant from Sardis about twenty-seven miles to the south-east. It is called by the Turks Alah Shahr, or the beautiful city, on account of its delightful situation, standing on the declivity of the mountain Tmolus, and having a most pleasant prospect on the plains beneath, well furnished with divers villages, and watered by the river Pactolus. It still retains the form of a city, with something of trade to invite the people to it, being the road of the Persian caravans. Here is little of antiquity remaining, besides the ruins of a church dedicated to St John, which is now made a dunghill to receive the offals of dead beasts. Howsoever, God hath been pleased to preserve some of this place to make profession of the Christian faith, there being above two hundred houses of Christians, and four churches; whereof the chief is dedicated

* Smith, Rycant, Wheeler and Spon. *Ibid.* Van Egmont's and Heyman's *Travels*. C. ap. 10.

† Smith, Rycant, Wheeler and Spon. *Ibid.*

called to Panagia, or the holy Virgin; the other to St George who is of great fame among the oriental Christians; the third to Theodore; and the fourth to St Taxiarchus, as St Michael the arch-angel is called by the Greeks. Next to Smyrna this city hath the greatest number of Christians, and Christ hath promised a more particular protection to it; 'I know thy works: behold I have set before thee an open door, and none can shut it: for thou hast a little strength, and hast kept my word, and hast not denied my name. Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world to try them that dwell upon the earth.' Than which, as Dr Spon saith, what could be said more formally to foretel the coming of the Turks, the open enemies of Christianity, who seem to be sent on purpose for the punishment of our crimes, and to distinguish the faithful from the false Christians, who pretend to be so, and are not?

Laodicea lay south of Philadelphia, in the way to return to Ephesus: and if you will inspect the maps of Asia Minor, you will find the seven churches to lie in a kind of circular form, so that the natural progress was from Ephesus to Smyrna, from Smyrna to Pergamus, from Pergamus to Thyatira, from Thyatira to Sardis, from Sardis to Philadelphia, from Philadelphia to Laodicea, and from Laodicea round to Ephesus again; which is the method and order that St John hath observed in addressing them; and was probably the circuit that he took in his visitation. That there was a flourishing church at Laodicea in the primitive times of Christianity, is evident from St Paul's Epistle to the Colossians, wherein frequent mention is made of the Laodiceans, as well as from this Epistle of St John. But the doom of Laodicea * seemeth to have been more severe and terrible than that of almost any other of the seven churches. For it is now utterly destroyed and forsaken of men, and is become an habitation only for wolves, foxes, and jackalls, a den of dragons, snakes, and vipers. And that because the Lord hath executed the judgment, that he had pronounced upon her: that all the world might know, and tremble

at

* Smith, Rycaut, Wheler, and Spon. Ibid.

at the fierce anger of God against impenitent, negligent and careless sinners. For such was the accusation of the *Vulgar* Laodiceans, who grew proud and self-conceited, thinking themselves much better than they really were. Wherefore, because they were 'neither hot nor cold,' they were loathsome to Christ; and he therefore assured them, that he 'would spue them out of his mouth.' The ruins shew it to have been a very great city, situate upon six or seven hills, and incompassing a large space of ground. Some notion may be formed of its former greatness and glory from three theatres and a circus which are remaining; one of which is truly admirable, as it was capable of containing above thirty thousand men, into whose area they descended by fifty steps. This city is now called Eski Hisar or the old castle; and though it was once the mother church of sixteen bishoprics, yet it now lieth desolate, not so much as inhabited by shepherds, and so far from shewing any of the ornaments of God's ancient worship, it cannot now boast of an anchorite's or hermit's chapel, where God's name is praised or invoked.

Such is the state and condition of these seven once glorious and flourishing churches; and there cannot be a stronger proof of the truth of prophecy, nor a more effectual warning to other Christians. "These objects, as Wheler * justly observes, ought to make us, who yet enjoy the divine mercies, to tremble, and earnestly contend to find out from whence we are fallen, and do daily fall from bad to worse; that God is a God of purer eyes than to behold iniquity; and seeing the axe is thus long since put to the root of the tree, should it not make us repent and turn to God, lest we likewise perish?—We see here what destruction the Lord hath brought upon the earth. But it is the Lord's doing? and thence we may reap no small advantage by considering how just he is in all his judgments, and faithful in all his promises." We may truly say, 1 Cor. x. 11, 12. that 'all these things happened unto them for ensamples: and they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come. Wherefore, let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall.'

Vol. III.

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CHAP.

* Wheler's Voyage. B. 3. p. 259, &c.

CHAP. IV.

2. **AFTER** this, I looked, and behold, a door *was* open in heaven: and the first voice which I heard, *was* as it were, of a trumpet talking with me; which said, Come up hither, and I will shew thee things which must be hereafter.

2 And immediately I was in the spirit: and behold, a throne *was* set in heaven, and *one* sat on the throne.

3 And he that sat *was* to look upon like a jasper, and a sardine stone: and *there was* a rainbow round about the throne, in sight like unto an emerald.

4 And round about the throne *were* four and twenty seats: and upon the seats I saw four and twenty elders sitting clothed in white raiment; and they had on their heads crowns of gold.

5 And out of the throne proceeded lightnings, and thundrings, and voices: and *there were* seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the seven spirits of God.

6 And before the throne *there was* a sea of glass like unto crystal: And in the

midst of the throne, and round about the throne *were* four beasts full of eyes before and behind.

7 And the first beast *was* like a lion, and the second beast like a calf, and the third beast had the face of a man, and the fourth beast *was* like a flying eagle.

8 And the four beasts had each of them six wings about him, and *they were* full of eyes within; and they rest not day and night, saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God almighty, which *was*, and is, and is to come.

9 And when those beasts give glory, and honour, and thanks to him that sat on the throne, who liveth for ever and ever.

10 The four and twenty elders fall down before him that sat on the throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever, and cast their crowns before the throne, saying,

11 Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honour, and power: for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are, and were created.

After this vision relating to 'the things which are,' other visions succeed of 'the things which must be hereafter,' ver. 1. The scene is laid in heaven; and the scenery drawn in allusion to Numb. i. ii. the incampment

ment of the children of Israel in the wilderness. God is represented, ver. 2, 3. sitting on his throne, as in the tabernacle or temple, much in the same manner as the prophet Ezekiel, i. 26, 27, 28. hath described him. Next to the tabernacle encamped the priests and Levites; and next to the throne, ver. 4. 'were four and twenty elders sitting,' answering to the princes of the four and twenty courses of the Jewish priests; 'clothed in white raiment,' as emblems of their purity and sanctity; 'and they had on their heads crowns of gold,' Christ having made them 1 Pet. ii. 9. 'a royal priesthood, and Rev. 10. 'kings and priests unto God. Out of the throne proceeded, ver. 5. lightnings, and thunderings, and voices,' the usual concomitants and attendants of the divine presence: 'and there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne,' answering to the golden candlestick with seven lamps, which was before the most holy place in the tabernacle. Before the throne there was also, ver. 6. 'a sea of glass, like unto chrystal,' answering to the great molten sea or laver in the temple of Solomon: 'and in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne,' that is before and behind the throne, and on each side of the throne, 'were four beasts or *rather* four living creatures, (*זכר*) representing the heads of the whole congregation in the four quarters of the world, and resembling the Cherubim and Seraphim in Ezekiel's and Isaiah's visions, Ezek. i. 10. x. 14. If. vi. 2, 3. or rather resembling the four standards or ensigns of the four divisions in the camp of Israel, according to the * traditionary description of them by Jewish writers, 'The first living creature was like a lion,' ver. 7. which was the standard of Judah with the two other tribes in the eastern division; 'and the second like a calf or ox,' which was the standard of Ephraim with the two other tribes in the western division; and the third had a face as a man,' which was the standard of Reuben with the two other tribes and the southern division; 'and the fourth was like a flying eagle,' which was the standard of Dan with the two other tribes in the northern division: and this traditionary description agrees also with the four faces of the Cherub in Ezekiel's visions. Of

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these

* *Majores nostri dixerunt, &c.* See Aben Ezra and others quoted by Mr Mede, p. 437.

these living creatures and of the elders the constant employment, ver. 8—11. is to celebrate, in hymns of praise and thanksgiving, the great and wonderful works of creation and providence.

CHAP. V.

1 **AND** I saw in the right hand of him that sat on the throne, a book written within and on the backside, sealed with seven seals.

2 And I saw a strong angel, proclaiming with a loud voice, Who is worthy to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof?

3 And no man in heaven, nor in earth, neither under the earth, was able to open the book, neither to look thereon.

4 And I wept much because no man was found worthy to open, and to read the book, neither to look thereon.

5 And one of the elders saith unto me, Weep not: behold, the Lion of the tribe of Juda, the root of David, hath prevailed to open the book, and to loose the seven seals thereof.

6 And I beheld, and lo, in the midst of the throne, and of the four beasts, and in the midst of the elders stood a Lamb, as it had been slain, having seven horns, and seven eyes, which are the seven spirits of God sent forth into all the earth.

7 And he came and took the book out of the right hand of him that sat upon the throne.

8 And when he had taken the book, the four beasts and four and twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps, and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints.

9 And they sung a new song, saying Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof; for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation;

10 And I saw made us unto our God kings and priests, and we shall reign on the earth.

11 And I beheld, and I heard the voice of many angels round about the throne, and the beasts and the elders; and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands;

12 Saying with a loud voice, Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive power,

er, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing.

13 And every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I, saying, Blessing, and

honour, and glory, and power be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever.

14 And the four beasts said, Amen. And the four and twenty elders fell down and worshipped him that liveth for ever and ever.

Future events are supposed by St John, as well as by Daniel and other prophets, in a beautiful figure, to be registered in 'a book,' for the greater certainty of them, This book, ver. 1. is 'in the right hand of God,' to denote that as he alone directs the affairs of futurity, so he alone is able to reveal them. 'This book, through the abundance of the matter, was written within and on the backside;' as the roll of the book, which was spread before Ezekiel, in. 10. was 'written within and without. It was also sealed to signify that the decrees of God are inscrutable, and sealed 'with seven seals,' referring to so many signal periods of prophecy. In short, we should conceive of this book, that it was such an one as the ancients used, a volume or roll of a book, or more properly a volume consisting of seven volumes, so that the opening of one seal laid open the contents only of one volume. All creatures are challenged, ver. 2. 'to open the book,' and to loose the seals thereof.' But, ver. 3. 'no one (*unus*) in heaven, nor in earth, neither under the earth,' neither angels, nor men, nor departed spirits, were any of them qualified to comprehend and communicate the secret purposes of God. St John 'wept much,' ver. 4. at the sad disappointment: but who now is concerned or grieved, that he cannot understand these prophecies? However he is comforted, ver. 5. with an assurance, that still there was one who had power and authority to reveal and accomplish the counsels of God. The Son of God, and he alone, was found worthy to be the great revealer and interpreter of his Father's oracles; ver. 6, &c. and he obtained this privilege by the merits of his sufferings

D 3

and

* So in Juvenal Sat. l. 5.

—summi plena jam margine libri,
scriptus et in tergo, mediis finibus Orcles.

and death. Whereupon the whole church, ver. 8, &c. and all the angels, ver. 11, &c. and all creatures, ver. 13, &c. sing praises to God and to the Lamb for such glorious manifestations of divine providence. All this is by way of preface or introduction, to shew the great dignity, importance, and excellence of the prophecies here delivered.

CHAP. VI.

1 **AND** I saw when the Lamb opened one of the seals, and I heard as it were the noise of thunder, one of the four beasts, saying, Come, and see.

2 And I saw, and behold, a white horse; and he that sat on him had a bow, and a crown was given unto him, and he went forth conquering, and to conquer.

As the seals are opened in order, so the events follow in order too. The first seal or period, ver. 1, 2, is memorable for conquest, and was proclaimed by the first of the four living creatures, who was like a lion, and had his station in the east. * And I saw, and behold, a white Horse; and he that sat on him had a bow, and a crown was given unto him, and he went forth conquering, and to conquer. This first period commenceth with Vespasian and Titus, who from commanding † in the east were advanced to the empire; and Vespasian for this reason was regarded, ‡ both by the Romans and foreigners as that great prince who was to come out of the east, and obtain dominion over the world. They § went forth to conquer; for they made an entire conquest of Judea, destroying Jerusalem, and carried the Jews captive to all nations. As these prophecies were written a few years before the destruction of Jerusalem, they properly begin with some allusion to that memorable event; and a short allusion was sufficient, our Saviour himself having enlarged so much upon all the particulars. The *bow*, the *white Horse*, and the *crown* are proper emblems of victory, triumph, and royalty; and the proclamation for conquest

* Hujus (Vitelli) tempore Vespasianus in oriente principatum arripuit. Aurel. Victor. Edit. Cap. 8.

† Tacit. Hist. Lib. 1. p. 217. Edit. Lipsii. Sueton. in Vesp. Cap. 4. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 5. sect. 4. p. 1283. Ed. Hud.

is fully made by a creature like a lion. This period continuing during the reigns of the Flavian family and the short reign of Nerva, about 28 years.

They who suppose this book to have been written at Domitian's time, some years after the destruction of Jerusalem, are obliged to give another explanation of this first seal, applicable to some subsequent event, that it may not be deemed a history of things past instead of a prophecy of things to come. Now this notion is, that this first seal exhibits a representation of the person and dignity of Christ, and of the triumphs of the Christian religion over all the powers of Paganism. At the same time they allow (as it is generally allowed) that the six first seals especially relate to Heathen Rome, and comprehend so many notable periods in the Roman history. But where then is the propriety or consistence, of understanding the first seal of Christ and the Christian religion, and the succeeding seals of successive revolutions in the Roman empire, during its Pagan and unconverted state? And what good reason can be given for representing the church in triumph and glory, at a period when it was most grievously persecuted and afflicted? Would it not have been more uniform and of a piece, and have agreed better with the series and order of true history, if they had applied this first seal to the conquests of Vespasian and Titus and the destruction of Jerusalem; as they have applied the second seal to the wars of Trajan and Adrian with the Jews, and the third and following seals to transactions of other Roman emperors? The four living creatures have their stations, as we have shewn, in the four quarters, east, west, south and north, to denote from what part we are to look for the completion of the prophecy: and as Trajan proceeded from the *west*, Septimius Severus from the *south*, and Maximine from the *north*, what other emperor before them, besides Vespasian, came from the *east*, which was the station of the lion, who made the first proclamation? It should seem therefore that the interpretation which was first proposed is the more eligible, and indeed I cannot see how this first seal can be well explicated otherwise, consistently with the truth of history and other circumstances of the prophecy; and if this be the true interpretation, this is a further argument that the

the book was more probably written in the persecutions under Nero than in those under Domitian.

3 And when he had opened the second seal, I heard the second beast say, Come and see.

3 And there went out another horse that was red: and power was given to him that sat thereon, to take peace from the earth, and that they should kill one another: and there was given unto him a great sword.

The second seal or period, ver. 3, 4. is noted for war and slaughter, and was proclaimed by the second living creature, who was like an ox, and had his station in the west. 'And there went out another horse that was red: and power was given to him that sat thereon, to take peace from the earth, and that they should kill one another; and there was given unto him a great sword.' This second period commenced with Trajan, who came from the west, being a * Spaniard by birth, and was the first foreigner who was elevated to the imperial throne. In his reign and that of his successor Adrian there were horrid wars and slaughters, and especially between the rebellious Jews and the Romans. Dion relates, † that the Jews about Cyrene slew of the Romans and Greeks two hundred and twenty thousand men with the most shocking circumstances of barbarity. In Egypt also, and in Cyprus, they committed the like barbarities, and there perished two hundred and forty thousand men more. But the Jews were subdued in their turn by the other generals and Lucius sent against them by Trajan. Eusebius writing

* Ἰβνρ δ Τραιανὸν ἀλλ' οὐ Ἰταλὸν, ἀλλ' Ἰταλιανὸν—ῥωμαῖος πρῶτον ἀλλοτρίος τοῦ τοῦ Ῥωμαίου κράτους ἰσχυρῶς. Trajanus homo Hispanus, nec Italus erat, nec Italicus—ante eum nemo alterius nationis imperium Romanum obtinuerat. Dion. Lib. 68. p. 771. Edit. Leunclav.

† Καὶ ἡ ἐν τῷ ὠκεῖν Κερκερὶ Ἰουδαίῳ—τοῖς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις—ὅτε τοῖς ὠκεῖν τοῖς καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀποκτείναντες. καὶ τοῖς Ἀιγυπτίοις πολλὰ ἰδρῶσαι ἔργα, καὶ ἐν τῇ Κύπρῳ—καὶ ἀποκτείναντες καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀποκτείναντες—ἀλλ' Ἰουδαίῳ μὲν ἀλλοτρίοι καὶ ἀλλοτρίοι ὡς Τραιανὸν πρῶτον κατεστρέψαντο. Interim Judæi, qui circum Cyrenen habitabant—Romanos pariter atque Græcos concidunt—ita ut interierint hominum ad ducenta viginti millia, Præterea in Ægypto Cyprique—confinitia quædam perpetrarunt, ubi desiderata sunt hominum ducenta quadraginta millia.—Sed Judæi et ab aliis, et maxime a Lucio, quem Trajanus miserat, subacti sunt. Dion. ib. p. 786.

writing of the same time saith, * that the Jews inflamed as it were by some violent and seditious spirit, in the first conflict gained a victory over the Gentiles, who flying to Alexandria, took and killed the Jews in the city. The emperor sent Marcus Turbo against them, with great forces by sea and land; who in many battles slew many myriads of the Jews. The emperor also suspecting that they might make the like commotions in Mesopotamia, ordered Lucius Quietus to expel them out of the province, who marching against them slew a very great multitude of them there. Orosius treating of the same time saith, † that the Jews with an incredible commotion, made wild as it were with rage, rose at once in different parts of the earth. For throughout all Lybia they waged the fiercest wars against the inhabitants, and the country was almost desolated. Egypt also and Cyrene and Thebais they disturbed with cruel seditions. But in Alexandria they were overcome in battle. In Mesopotamia also war was made upon the rebellious Jews by the command of the emperor.

So

* ὥστε ὑπὸ πνεύματος δαιμονίου καὶ τινος τρεῖς ἀνταρξισθέντες—ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συνβολῇ ἐπικρατῆσαι αὐτοὺς συνέβη τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ καὶ καταφύγοντες εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, τὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἰουδαίους ἐξώρυσαν τε καὶ ἀνίκησαν.—ἔφ' ἧς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἱππὸς Μάρκιον Τέρβωνα συνδυναμεισάτω τε καὶ ναυτικήν, ἐτι δὲ καὶ ἱππικήν· ὅς τις πολλὰς μάχαις—πολλὰς μυριάδας Ἰουδαίων ἀνείρεν· ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ ὑποκτινύσας καὶ τὴν ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ Ἰουδαίους ἐτίθεισθαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς, Ἀλκίη Κυάτη προσιτάζει ἐκκαθαρεῖν τῆς ὑπαρχίας αὐτοῦ· ὅς ἐστι παρὰ ταῖς ἀμύκλαις πλῆθος τῶν αὐτοῦ φονεῖται—velut a violento quodam et seditioso daemone exagitati et primo quidem conflictu forte Judaei Gentiles superaverant. Qui mox Alexandriam confugientes, Judaeos qui in eo urbe degebant, captos interfecerunt.—Itaque imperator Marcium Turbonem adversus eos misit cum pedestribus ac navalibus copiis, et cum equitatu. Hic multis praeliis confectis—infinita Judaeorum millia—neci dedit. Sed imperator veritus ne Judaei qui Mesopotamia habitabant, incolae perinde aggredirentur, mandavit Lucio Quietō, ut eos extra provinciae fines deportaret. Qui instructa adversus illos acie, ingentem eorum multitudinem prostravit. Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 4. Cap. 2.

† Incredible deinde motu, sub uno tempore Judaei, quasi rabie efferrati, per diversas terrarum partes exarserunt. Nam et per totam Lybiam adversus incolae atrocissima bella gesserunt: quae adeo tunc interfectis cultoribus desolata est—Aegyptum vero totam et Cyrenem et Thebaida cruentis seditionibus turbaverunt. In Alexandria autem commisso praelio victi et adriti sunt. In Mesopotamia quoque rebellantibus jussu imperatoris bellum illatum est. Itaque multa millia eorum vasta caede deleta sunt. Sane Salaminian, urbem Cyprī, interfectis omnibus incolis deleverunt. Oros. Hist. Lib. 7. Cap. 12. p. 487. Edit. Havercamp.

So that many thousands of them were destroyed with vast slaughter. They utterly destroyed Salamis, a city of Cyprus, having first murdered all the inhabitants. These things were transacted in the reign of Trajan; and in the reign of Adrian * was their great rebellion under their false Messiah Barchochab, and their final dispersion, after fifty of their strongest castles and nine hundred and eighty-five of their best towns had been demolished, and after five hundred and eighty thousand men had been slain by the sword, besides an infinite number who had perished by famine and sickness and other casualties, with great loss and slaughter too of the Romans, insomuch that the emperor forebore the usual salutations in his letters to the senate. Here was another illustrious triumph of Christ over his enemies; and the Jews and the Romans, both the persecutors of the Christians were remarkably made the dreadful executioners of divine vengeance upon one another. The *great sword* and *red horse* are expressive emblems of this slaughtering and bloody period; and the proclamation for slaughter is fitly made by a creature like an ox that is destined for slaughter. This period continued during the reigns of Trajan and his successors by blood or adoption, about 95 years.

5 And when he had opened the third seal, I heard the third beast say, Come, and see. And I beheld, and lo, a black horse; and he that sat on him had a pair of balances in his hand.

6 And I heard a voice in the midst of the four beasts say, A measure of wheat for a penny, and three measures of barley for a penny; and see thou hurt not the oil and the wine.

The third seal or period, ver. 5, 6. is characterized by the strict execution of justice and judgment, and by the procuration of corn and oil and wine; and was proclaimed by the third living creature, who was like a man, and had his station in the south. 'And I beheld and lo, a black horse; and he that sat on him had a pair of balances in his hand. And I heard a voice in the midst of the four living creatures say, A measure of wheat for a penny, and three measures of barley for a penny; and see thou hurt not the oil and the wine.' Where Grotius and o-

thers

* Euseb. *ibid.* Cap. 6. Dion. *ib.* Lib. 69. p. 794.

thers have * observed, that a *chenix* of corn, the measure here mentioned, was a man's daily allowance, as a *penny* was his daily wages; so that if his daily labour could earn no more than his daily bread, without other provision for himself and his family, corn must needs bear a very high price. But whatever may be the capacity of the *chenix*, which is difficult to be determined, as it was different in different times and countries; yet such care and such regulations about the necessaries of life, imply some want and scarcity of them. Scarcity obligeth them to exactness in the price and measure of things. In short, the intent of the prophecy is, that corn should be provided for the people, but it should be distributed in exact measure and proportion. The third period commenceth with Septimius Severus, who was an emperor from the south, being † a native of Africa. He was an ‡ enactor of just and equal laws, and was very severe and implacable to offences; he would not suffer even petty larcenies to go unpunished: as neither would Alexander Severus in the same period, who || was a most severe judge against thieves; and was so fond of the Christian maxim, 'Whatsoever you would not have done to you, do not you to another,' that he commanded it to be engraven on the palace, and on the public buildings. These two emperors were also no less celebrated for the procuring of corn and oil and other provisions; and for supplying the Romans with them after they had experienced the want of them.

They

* Est autem *chenix* tratici tantum, quanto homo sanus in diem indiget, ut ex Herodoti libro tertio et septimo observarunt eruditi, alii etiam ex Hippocrate, Diogene Laertio et Athenæo. Denarius vero tantum, quantum quoque die mereri poterat homo strenue laborans, ut videtur est Matt. XX. 2, &c. Grot in locum. Vide etiam Vitring. p. 259.

† Septimius Severus—oriundus ex Africa—Solutus omni memoria et ante et postea ex Africa imperator fuit. Eutropius, Lib. 8. Cap. 10. Interfecto Didio Juliano, Severus Africa oriundus imperium obtinuit. Aelius Spartianus in Severo. Hist. August. Scriptores VI. p. 64. Edit. Salmasii.

‡ Legum conditor longe æquabilium—implacabilis delictis—parva latrocinia quidem impunita patiebatur. Aurel. Victor de Cæsar. Cap. 20.

|| Severissimus jaudebat contra furces—Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris; quam sententiam usque adeo delexit, ut et in palatio et in publicis operibus præscribi juberet. Lampridius in Alexandro. Hist. August. Script. VI. p. 123 et 137. Edit. Salmasii.

They repaired the neglects of former times, and corrected the abuses of former princes. Of Septimius Severus it is said, that * the provision of corn, which he found very small, he so far consulted, that at his death he left a certain rate or allowance to the Roman people for seven years: and also of oil as much as for the space of five years might supply not only the uses of the city, but likewise of all Italy which might want oil. Of Alexander Severus it is also said, that † he took such care in providing for the Roman people, that the corn which Heliogabalus had wasted, he replaced out of his own money; the oil also, which Septimius Severus had given to the people, and which Heliogabalus had lessened, he restored whole as before. The colour of the *black horse* befits the severity of their nature and their name, and the *balances* are the well known emblem of justice, as well as an intimation of scarcity; and the proclamation for justice and judgment, and for the procuration of corn and oil and wine, is fitly made by a creature like a man. This period continued during the reigns of the Septimian family about 42 years.

7 And when he had opened the fourth seal, I heard the voice of the fourth beast say, Come, and see.

8 And I looked, and behold, a pale horse; and his name that sat on him was

Death, and Hell followed with him, and power was given unto them, over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with sword, and with hunger, and with death, and with the beasts of the earth.

The fourth seal or period, ver. 7, 8. is distinguished by a concurrence of evils, war, and famine, and pestilence, and wild beasts; and was proclaimed by the fourth living creature, who was like an eagle, and had his station in the north. ' And I looked, and behold, a pale horse; and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him: and power was given unto them, over the fourth

* *Rei frumentariæ, quam minimam repererat, ita consuluit, ut excedens vitæ, septem annorum canonem P. R. relinqueret.* Spartian. *ibid.* p. 97. olei vero tantum ut per quinquennium non solum urbis usibus, sed et totius Italiæ quæ oleo egeret, sufficeret. Spartian in Severo. *ibid.* p. 73.

† *Commeatum populi Romani sic adjuvit, ut quum frumenta Heliogabalus vertisset, vicem de propria pecunia loco suo reponebat—Oleum quod Severus populo dederat, quodque Heliogabalus amminuerat, integrum restituit.* Lamprid. in Alex. *ibid.* p. 121.

fourth part of the earth, to kill with sword, and with hunger, and with death, and with the beasts of the earth. These are the same 'four sore judgments,' with which Ezekiel xiv. 21. threatened Jerusalem, 'the sword, and the famine, and the noisome beast, and the pestilence;' for in the oriental languages the pestilence is emphatically styled death. These four were to destroy 'the fourth part' of mankind; and the image is very poetical of 'death riding upon a pale horse, and hell, or the grave, following with him,' ready to swallow up the dead corpses. This period commenceth with Maximino, who was an emperor from the north, being † born of barbarous parents in a village of Thrace. He was indeed a barbarian in all respects. There was not, as an ‡ historian affirms, a more cruel animal upon the earth; he was so cruel, that he was deservedly called by the name of Cyclops, Busris, Phalaris, and the worst of tyrants. The history of his, and several succeeding reigns is full of wars and murders, mutinies of soldiers, and invasions of foreign armies, rebellions of subjects, and deaths of princes. There were more than twenty emperors in the space of fifty years, and all, or most of them died in war, or were murdered by their own soldiers and subjects. Besides lawful emperors, there were in the reign of Gallienus § thirty tyrants or usurpers, who set up in different parts of the empire, and came all to violent and miserable ends.

Vol. III.

E

Here

* Voce *Δαναοι* intelligendus est λαοι ex Hebraismo: Nam ita *הננו* sum tur apud Jer. IX 21. et XVIII 21 sic apud Sirachidem *לעזתוס* XXXIX 29 *λαοι και Δαναοι*, ubi itidem *Δαναοι* laud dubie pestilentiam significat. Syrus quoque tum hic tum apud Lucam *λαοι* vertit מכות. i e *Δαναοι*. et LXX Hebraeorum *מכות* i. e. *pestes* vertunt *Δαναοι*, ut et Chaldaeus et Latinus. Lev XXVI. 25. Huius exemplo severo Salpitiu Hist I *morem pro pestilentia posuit* Grot. in Matt XXIV. 7

† Hic de Vico Thraciae, vicino barbaris, barbaro etiam patre et matre genitus. Julius Capitolinus in Maximino Hist August. Script. VI Edit Salmas. p 138 Vide etiam notas Salmas et Casauboni. *Μαξιμινος, το μη γινος των υδατων θρακη και μεσημερι* Max qui quod ad genus attinet, ex intimis Thracibus, et similioribus erat Herodiani Lib 6. p. 143 Edit. H Steph 1581.

‡ Neque enim fuit crudelius animal in terris—tam crudelis fuit, ut illum alii Cyclopem, alii Busridem, alii Scironem, nonnulli Phalarim, multi Typhonem, vel *Cycum* vocarent. Jul. Cap. ibid. p. 141.

§ Vide Trebell. Pollio. de triginta tyrannis. Hist Aug Script. VI p. 184, &c Edit. Salmasius.

Here was sufficient employment for the sword; and such wars and devastations must necessarily produce a *famine*, and the *famine* is another distinguishing calamity of this period. In the reign of Gallus, the Scythians made such incursions, that * not one nation subject to the Romans was left unwasted by them, and every unwall'd town, and most of the wall'd cities were taken by them. In the reign of Probus also † there was a great famine throughout the world; and for want of victuals the army mutinied, and slew him. An usual consequence of famine is the *pestilence*, and the *pestilence* is the third distinguishing calamity of this period. This pestilence, according to ‡ Zonaras, arising from Ethiopia, while Gallus and Volusian were emperors, pervaded all the Roman provinces, and for 15 years together incredibly exhausted them; and so learned a man as Lipsius declares, that he never read of any greater plague, for the space of time that it lasted, or of land that it overspread. Zosimus, speaking of the devastations of the Scythians in the reign of Gallus before mentioned, farther addeth, that || the pestilence was not less pernicious than the war, destroyed whatever was left of human kind, and made such havock as it had never done in former times.

* ὥς μὴδὲ ἐν ἐθνῶσι Ῥωμαίων ὑπῆρκεν ἀπορρητοὶ ἡγοῦνται καταλοιφέναι, πᾶσαν δὲ ὡς εἶπεν ἀτειχιστοὺς πολλοὺς, καὶ τῶν ἀχυρομένων τεχνιστὰς τὰς πόλεις ἄλλαναι. adeo quidem, ut nullo gens Romanæ ditionis ab ei snon vastata manserit, sed omnia, prope dixerim, oppida destituta manibus, et iisdem munitorum magna pars, capta fuerint. Zosim. in Gall. Lib. 1. Sect. 26.

* ἔγινετο λιμὸς κοσμικὸς μέγας, καὶ μὴ ἐνρίθνητον ἀνθρώπων, ἰσχυρῶς ἐστράτευτο, καὶ ἐκπύοντες ἰσχυρῶς αὐτοὺς. fames ingens per totum orbem grassata est: annona autem deficiente, seditione in exercitu excitata, a militibus interfectus est. Joan Malalæ. Chronograph. p. 407. Edit. Oxon. 1691.

† Zonaras author est, nec caeteri tacuere, sub Gallo et Volusiano imperatoribus *pestem* ab Æthiopia exortam omnes Romanæ provincias pervasisse et per quindecim continuos annos incredibiliter exhaustisse. *Nec alia unquam major lues mihi lecta* (inquit vir nostro ævo celebris) *spatio temporum, sive terrarum* Mede. p. 446. Zonar. in Gal. et Volus. Lipsius de Constantin. Lib. 2. Cap. 23.

§ ὥς ἡσίων διὰ τὰ πανταχόθεν ἐκείραντος πολέμου, καὶ ὁ λοιμὸς πολλοὶ τοὶ καὶ πῶρμῳ ἐκπύοντες, οἳ τὴν ληλεῖαν μὲν τὴν ἀνθρώπων ἀπολλομένην ἐξ ἑκείνου. Nec minus bello, quod undique scaturiendo velut emerferat, lues etiam pestilens in oppidis atque vicis subsecuta, quicquid erat humani generis reliquum absorpsit quæ sane nunquam superioribus sæculis tantum hominum stragem edederat. Zosim. ibid.

times. He saith also, that in the reign of Gallienus, * such a grievous pestilence as never happened at any time before, rendered the calamities inflicted by the barbarians, more moderate. He saith afterwards too in the reign of Claudius, that † the pestilence seizing on the Romans as well as the barbarians, many of the army died, and also ~~Claudius~~ the emperor. Dionysius in ‡ Eusebius treating of the same time, mentions the war and the famine and the pestilence, as succeeding one another in their natural order. St Cyprian too mentions || all the three together, as troubling the world more at that time than at any other. He wrote also a § treatise upon this very pestilence, which he intitled *De mortalitate*, as if he had taken the name from the prophecy which had predicted it. In short, without alledging more testimonies, Eutropius affirms of Gallus and Volusian, that ¶ their reign was remarkable only for the pestilence and diseases and sickness. Orosius ** asserts much the same thing; and Trebellius Pollio likewise †† informs us, that in the reign of Gallienus the pestilence was so great that five thousand men died in one day. When the countries lie thus uncultivated, uninhabited, unfrequented, the wild beasts multiply, and come into the towns to devour men; which is the fourth distinguishing calamity of this period. This

E 2

would

* λοιμός ἐπέβησας ταῖς πόλεσιν, οἷος ἦτο προτέρων ἐν παντί τῷ χρόνῳ συνέβη τὰς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων συμφορὰς μετριώτερας ἀπέφηνε. tanta pestis in civitatibus exort, quanta nunquam prius ullo tempore existerat calamitates a barbaris illatas leviores reddidit. Zosim. ibid. Sect. 37.

† Ἀφαιρέσιν δὲ τῶ λοιμοῦ καὶ Ῥωμαίων, ἀπεθανὸν μὲν πολλοὶ τῶ στρατεύματος, πλείους δὲ καὶ Κλαύδιος. Sed quod in Romanos quoque pestis laevire cepisset. cum alii complures in exercitu mortui sunt, tum etiam Claudius vivendi finem fecit. Zosim. ibid. Sect. 46.

‡ Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 7. Cap. 22.

|| Sed enim cum dicas, plurimos conqueri quod bello crebrius surgant, quod lues, quod fames faciant, &c. Ad Demetrianum, p. 129. Edit. Felli. Quod autem crebrius bella continuant, quod sterilitas et fames sollicitudinem cumulant, quod facientibus morbis valetudo frangitur, quod humanum genus suis populatione vestatur, &c. Ibid. p. 130.

§ Vide Edit. Felli. p. 110.

¶ Sola pestilentia, et morbis, atque aegritudinibus notus eorum principatus fuit. Eutrop. Lib. 9. Cap. 3.

** Hac sola perniciē insignes Gallus et Volusianus. Oros. Hist. Lib. Cap. 2.

†† Pestilentia tanta existerat ut uno die quinque millia hominum perirent. Trebell. Pollio. in Gall. p. 177. ibid.

would appear a probable consequence of the former calamities, if history had recorded nothing of it: but we read in history that * five hundred wolves together entered into a city, which was deserted by its inhabitants, and where the young Maximine chanced to be. † It is well known, that the heathens maliciously ascribed public calamities to the Christians, and among these we find objected † the wars which they were obliged to wage with lions and wild beasts: as we may collect from Arnobius, who wrote soon after this time. The colour of the *pale horse* is very suitable to the mortality of this period; and the proclamation for death and destruction is fitly made by a creature like an eagle that watches for carcases. This period continued from Maximine to Diocletian about fifty years.

9 And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held.

10 And they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them

that dwell on the earth?

11 And white robes were given unto every one of them, and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellow-servants also, and their brethren that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled.

The following seals have nothing extrinsical, like the proclamation of the living creatures, to determine from what quarter we must expect their completion; but they are sufficiently distinguished by their internal marks and characters. The fifth seal or period is remarkable for a dreadful persecution of the Christians, who are represented, ver. 9. 'lying under the altar,' (for the scene is still in the tabernacle or temple) as sacrifices newly slain and offered to God. They 'cry aloud' ver. 10. for the Lord to 'judge and avenge' their cause; that is, the cruelties exercised upon them were of so barbarous and atrocious a nature, as to deserve and provoke the vengeance of the Lord,

* Lupi urbem quingenti simul ingressi sunt, in quam se Maximinus contulerat—quae deserta a civibus venienti Maximo patuit Julius Capitolin. in Max. Jun. p. 150. ibid.

† Quando cum feris bella, et praelia cum leonibus gesta sunt? Non ante nos? Arnob. advers. Gentes. L. 1. p. 5. Ed. Lug. Bat. 1653.

Lord. 'White robes are given unto every one of them,' ver. 11. as a token of their justification and acceptance with God; and they are exhorted to 'rest for a season,' till the number of the martyrs be completed; when they shall receive their full reward, as we shall see hereafter. Where Mr Lowman * observes very well, that "this resurrection seems much to favour the immediate happiness of departed saints, and hardly to consist with that uncomfortable opinion, the insensible state of departed souls, till after the resurrection." There were other persecutions before, but this was by far the most considerable, the tenth and last general persecution which was begun by Diocletian, and continued by others, and lasted longer, and extended farther, and was sharper and more bloody than any or all preceding; and therefore this was particularly predicted. Eusebius and Lactantius, who were two eye-witnesses, have † written large accounts of it. Orosius ‡ asserts, that this persecution was longer and more cruel than all the past; for it raged incessantly for ten years by burning the churches, proscribing the innocent, and slaying the martyrs. Sulpicius Severus too § describes it as the most bitter persecution, which for ten years together depopulated the people of God; at which time all the world almost was stained with the sacred blood of the martyrs, and was never more exhausted by any wars. So that this became a memorable æra to the Christians, under the name of the æra of Diocletian, or as it is otherwise called the æra of martyrs.

12 And I beheld when he had opened the sixth seal, and lo, there was a great earthquake, and the sun became black as sackcloth of
hair, and the moon became as blood.
13 And the stars of heaven fell unto the earth, even as a fig-tree casteth her un-

E. 3

timely

* See Lowman on the Rev. p. 51.

† Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 8. cum supplemento. Lactantius de Mortibus Persecut. Cap. 7, &c.

‡ quæ persecutio omnibus fere ante actis diuturnior atque immanior fuit, Nam per decem annos incendiis ecclesiarum, proscriptionibus innocentum, caedibus martyrum, incessabiliter acta est. Oros. Hist. Lib. 7. Cap. 25. p. 538. Edit. Havercamp.

§ Acerbissima persecutio, quæ per decem continuos annos plebem Dei depopulata est; qua tempestate omnis fere sacro martyrium more orbis infectus est:—Nullis unquam magis bellis mundus exhaustus est. Sulp. Sev. Hist. Sacr. Lib. 2. p. 99, Ed. Elz. 1656.

timely figs when she is shaken of a mighty wind :

14 And the heaven departed as a scroll when it is rolled together : and every mountain and island were moved out of their places :

15 And the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bond man, and every free

man, hid themselves in the dens, and in the rocks of the mountains :

16 And said to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb :

17 For the great day of his wrath is come ; and who shall be able to stand ?

The sixth seal or period produceth mighty changes and revolutions, which according to the prophetic stile are expressed by great commotions in the earth and in the heavens. The very same images, the very same expressions are employed by other prophets concerning the mutations and alterations of religions and governments : and why may they not therefore with equal fitness and propriety be applied to one of the greatest and most memorable revolutions which ever were in the world, the subversion of the Heathen religion, and establishment of the Christian, which was begun by Constantine the Great, and was completed by his successors ? The series of the prophecy requires this application, and all the phrases and expressions will easily admit of such a construction. ' And I beheld when he had opened the sixth seal,' ver. 12. ' and lo, there was *supra muros* a great earthquake, or rather a great concussion ;' for the word in the original comprehends the shaking of *heaven* as well as of the *earth*. The same phrase is used by the prophet Haggai, ii. 6, 21, concerning the first coming of Christ, ' I will shake the heavens and the earth : ' and this shaking, as the apostle saith, Heb. xii. 27. ' signifieth the removing of those things which are shaken ; and so the prophet Haggai himself explains it, ' I will shake the heavens and the earth, and I will overthrow the throne of kingdoms, and I will destroy the strength of the kingdoms of the Heathen : And where was ever a greater concussion or removal, than when Christianity was advanced to the throne of Paganism, and idolatry gave place to the true religion ? Then follow the particular effects of this general concussion, ver. 12, 13, 14. ' And the

the sun became black as sackcloth of hair, and the moon became as blood : And the stars of heaven fell unto the earth, even as a fig-tree casteth her untimely figs when she is shaken with a mighty wind : And the heavens departed as a scroll when it is rolled together ; and every mountain and island were moved out of their places.'

Isaiah speaketh much in the same manner concerning Babylon and Idumea ; xlii. 10. xxxiv. 4. ' For the stars of heaven and the constellations thereof shall not give their light ; the sun shall be darkened in his going forth, and the moon shall not cause her light to shine : And all the host of heaven shall be dissolved, and the heavens shall be rolled together as a scroll ; and all their host shall fall down as the leaf falleth off from the vine, and as a falling fig from the fig-tree : ' And Jeremiah concerning the land of Judah, iv. 23, 24. ' I beheld the earth, and lo, it was without form and void ; and the heavens and they had no light ; I beheld the mountains, and lo, they trembled, and all the hills moved lightly : And Ezekiel concerning Egypt, xxxii. 7. ' And when I shall put thee out, I will cover the heaven, and make the stars thereof dark ; I will cover the sun with a cloud, and the moon shall not give her light : ' And Joel concerning Jerusalem, ii. 10, 31. ' The earth shall quake before them, the heavens shall tremble, the sun and the moon shall be dark, and the stars shall withdraw their shining : the sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the great and terrible day of the Lord come : ' And our Saviour himself also concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, Matt. xxiv. 29. ' The sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken.' Now it is certain that the fall of any of these cities and kingdoms was not of greater concern and consequence to the world nor more deserving to be described in such pompous figures, than the fall of the Pagan Roman empire, when the great lights of the heathen world, *the sun, moon, and stars*, the powers civil and ecclesiastical, were all eclipsed and obscured, the heathen emperors and *Cæsars* were slain, the heathen priests and augurs were extirpated, the heathen officers and magistrates were removed, the heathen temples were demolished, and their revenues

revenues appropriated to better uses. It is customary with the prophets, after they have described a thing in the most symbolical and figurative diction, to represent the same again in plainer language; and the same method is observed here, ver. 15, 16, 17. 'And the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bond man, and every free man,' that is Maximian, Galerius, Maximine, Maxentius, Licinius, &c. with all their adherents and followers, were so routed and dispersed, that they 'hid themselves in the dens, and in the rocks of the mountains, and said to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us, and hide us:' expressions used, as in other prophets, Is. ii. 19, 21. Hos. x. 8. Luke xxiii. 30. to denote the utmost terror and consternation; 'Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb; for the great day of his wrath is come; and who shall be able to stand?' This is therefore a triumph of Christ over his heathen enemies, and a triumph after a severe persecution; so that the time and all the circumstances, as well as the series and order of the prophecy agree perfectly with this interpretation.

* Galerius, † Maximine, and ‡ Licinius made even a public confession of their guilt, recalled their decrees and edicts against the Christians, and acknowledged the just judgments of God and of Christ in their destruction.

CHAP. VII.

1 **AND** after these things, I saw four angels standing on the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth, that the wind should not blow on the earth, nor on the sea, nor on any tree.

2 And I saw another

angel ascending from the east, having the seal of the living God: and he cried with a loud voice to the four angels, to whom it was given to hurt the earth and the sea,

3 Saying, Hurt not the earth, neither the sea, nor the

* Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 8. Cap. 17. De vita Constant. Lib. 1. Cap. 58. Lactantius ed. Mort. Persecut. Cap. 33, &c.

† Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 9. Cap. 9, 10, 11. De vita Constant. Lib. 1. Cap. 59. Lactant. ibid. Cap. 49.

‡ Euseb. de vita Constant. Lib. 2. Cap. 18.

the eyes, till we have sealed the servants of our God in their foreheads.

4 And I heard the number of them which were sealed: *and there were sealed* ~~and~~ *an hundred and forty and four thousand*, of all the tribes of the children of Israel.

5 Of the tribe of Juda were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Reuben were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Gad were sealed twelve thousand.

6 Of the tribe of Aser were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Nephthalim were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Manasses were sealed twelve thousand.

7 Of the tribe of Simeon were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Levi were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Issachar were sealed twelve thousand.

8 Of the tribe of Zabulon were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Joseph were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Benjamin were sealed twelve thousand.

9 After this I beheld, and lo, a great multitude which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the

Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands;

10 And cried with a loud voice, Saying, Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb.

11 And all the angels stood round about the throne, and about the elders, and the four beasts, and fell before the throne on their faces, and worshipped God,

12 Saying, Amen: Blessing and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and might be unto our God for ever and ever. Amen.

13 And one of the elders answered, saying unto me, What are these which are arrayed in white robes? and whence came they?

14 And I said unto him, Sir, thou knowest. And he said to me, These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.

15 Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple: and he that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them.

16 They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more, neither shall the sun light

light on them, nor any heat. lead them unto living fountains of waters: and God is in the midst of the throne, shall wipe away all tears shall feed them, and shall from their eyes.

What follows in this chapter is still a continuation of the sixth seal, for the seventh seal is not opened till the beginning of the next chapter. It is a description of the state of the church in Constantine's time, of the peace and protection that it should enjoy under the civil powers, and of the great accession that should be made to it both of Jews and Gentiles. 'Four angels, ver. 1, 2, 3. are ordered by another angel to restrain 'the four winds' from blowing with violence on any part of the world; to shew that these were halcyon days, wherein the former wars and persecutions should cease, and peace and tranquillity be restored for a season. Eusebius is very copious upon this subject in several parts of his writings; and hath * applied the passage of the Psalmist in the version of the Seventy, Psal. xlvii. 8, 9, 'Come hither and behold the works of the Lord, what wonders he hath wrought in the earth: He maketh wars to cease unto the end of the earth, he breaketh the bow, and cutteth the spear asunder, he burneth the chariot in the fire;' which things, saith he, being manifestly fulfilled in our times, we rejoice over them. Lactantius also † saith in the same triumphant strain, "tranquillity being restored throughout the world, the church which was lately ruined riseth again. Now after the violent agitations of so great a tempest, a calm air and the desired light become resplendent. Now God hath relieved the afflicted. Now he hath wiped away the tears of the sorrowful." These are testimonies of contemporary writers; ‡ medals of Constantine are still preserved with the head of this emperor on one side, and this inscription **CONSTANTINUS AUG.** and on the reverse **BEATA TRANQUILLITAS**

* Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 10. Cap. I. *ἡ δὲ οὖν οὖν ἡμᾶς ταράσσοντες ἀλλοτριωμένων χαίροντες*—*Quæ cum omnia nostris temporibus manifeste completa sint læti deinceps et gaudentes*—

† Restituta per orbem tranquillitate, profligata nuper ecclesia rursam exsurgit—Nunc post tantæ tempestatis violentos turbines placidus aer et optata lux resulsit. Nunc Deus afflictos subleavit. Nunc mærentium lacrymas deterfuit. Lactantius de Mort. Persecut. Cap. 1.

‡ See Daubus p. 311.

QUILLITAS, Blessed Tranquillity. During this time of tranquillity 'the servants of God were to be sealed in their foreheads.' It is an expression in allusion to the ancient custom of marking servants in their foreheads to distinguish what they were, and to whom they belonged. Now among Christians baptism being the seal of the covenant between God and man, is therefore by ancient writers often called the *seal*, the *sign*, the *mark*, and *character* of the Lord: and it was the practice in early times, as it is at present to make the sign of the cross upon the foreheads of the parties baptized. The same sign of the cross was also made at confirmation; and upon many other occasions the Christians signed themselves with the sign of the cross in their foreheads, as a token that they were not ashamed of a crucified master, that on the contrary they gloried in the cross of Christ, and triumphed in that symbol and representation of it. The *sealing* therefore 'of the servants of God in their foreheads, at this juncture can imply no less, than that many converts should be baptized, and those, who before, in times of persecution, had been compelled to worship God in private, should now make a free, open and public profession of their religion; and that such an accession was made to the church, every one knoweth who knoweth any thing of the history of this time.

As the church of Christ was first formed out of the Jewish church and nation, so here, ver. 4—8. the spiritual Israel is first mentioned; and the number of the thousands of Israel is that of the twelve patriarchs multiplied by the twelve apostles, which we shall find to be a sacred number throughout the Revelation. But the twelve tribes are not enumerated here in the same method and order, as they are in other places of holy scriptures. Judah hath the first rank and precedence, because from him descended the Messiah. Dan is entirely omitted, and Ephraim is not mentioned, because they were the principal promoters of idolatry, and therefore Levi is substituted in the room of the one, and Joseph is mentioned instead of the other. The children too of the bond-woman and of the free-woman

* See Mede, p. 511. Bingham's Antiquities. B. 11. Ch. 1. Sect. 6, et 7.

† See Cave's Primitive Christianity, Part. 1. Ch. 10. Bingham, *ibid.* Ch. 9. Sect. 4, &c.

free-woman are confounded together, there being, Gal. iii. 28. 'in Christ Jesus neither bond nor free.' Besides some of all the tribes of Israel, there was 'an innumerable multitude of all nations and tongues, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands,' ver. 9, 10. who received and embraced the gospel: and as Sulpicius Severus * says, it is wonderful how much the Christian religion prevailed at that time. The historians, who have written of this reign, † relate how even the most remote and barbarous nations were converted to the faith, Jews as well as Gentiles. One historian in particular ‡ affirms, that at the time when Constantine took possession of Rome after the death of Maxentius, there were baptized more than twelve thousand Jews and Heathens, besides women and children. The angels also, ver. 11, 12. join in the celebration of God upon this occasion; for if 'there is joy,' Luke xv. 10. in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth, much more may those heavenly spirits rejoice at the conversion of whole countries and nations. Then one of the elders, ver. 13—17. explains to St John some particulars relating to this innumerable multitude of all nations. They have 'palms in their hands,' as tokens of their victory and triumph over tribulation and persecution. They are 'arrayed in white robes,' or emblems of their sanctity and justification through the merits and death of Christ. They are, like the children of Israel, arrived at their Canaan or land of rest, and they shall no more suffer *hunger*, or *thirst*, or *heat*, as they did in the wilderness. They are now happily freed from all their former troubles and molestations; and their heathen adversaries shall no more prevail against them. This period we may suppose to have continued with some little interruption from the reign of Constantine the Great to the death of Theodosius the Great, about 70 years.

CHAP.

* Hoc temporum tractu mirum est quantum invaluit religio Christiana Sulpic. Sever. Sacr. Hist. Lib. 2. p. 100. Edit. Elzevir. 1656.

† Socrates Hist. Eccles. Lib. 1. Cap. 18, 19, 20. Zozomen. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 2. Cap. 5—8, &c. &c.

‡ Hoc tempore Romæ baptizati sunt e Judæis et idololatriis ultra duodecim hominum millia, præter mulieris et pueros. Abul Pharajii Hist. Dyn. 7. p. 85. Vers. Pocockii Vide etiam Epiphanius Hæres. 30. Sect. 4, &c. p. 127. Vol. 1. Edit. Petavii.

THE PROPHECIES.

CH A P. VIII.

1 **AND** when he had opened the seventh seal, there was silence in heaven about the space of half an hour.

2 And I saw the seven angels which stood before God; and to them were given seven trumpets.

3 And another angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer; and there was given him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which was

before the throne.

4 And the smoke of the incense, *which came with the prayers of the saints*, ascended up before God, out of the angel's hand.

5 And the angel took the censer, and filled it with fire of the altar, and cast it into the earth: and there were voices, and thundrings, and lightnings, and an earthquake.

6 And the seven angels which had the seven trumpets, prepared themselves to sound.

The seventh seal or period is of much longer duration, and comprehends many more events than any of the former seals. It comprehends indeed seven periods distinguished by the sounding of seven trumpets. At the opening of this seal, ver. 1. 'there was silence in heaven about the space of half an hour.' This 'silence of half an hour' is a sign that the peace of the church would continue but for a short season. It is an interval and pause as it were between the foregoing and the succeeding visions. It is a mark of solemnity, to procure attention, and to prepare the mind for great and signal events; and not without an allusion to a ceremony among the Jews. Philo * informs us, the incense used to be offered before the morning, and after the evening sacrifice: and while the sacrifices were made, 2 Chron. xxix. 25—28. the voices and instruments, and trumpets sounded; while the priest went into the temple to burn incense, Luke i. 10. all were silent, and the people prayed without to themselves. Now this was the morning of the church, and there-

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fore

*—*apud eos erat incensum duas vel tres vice laudationis—ante matutinum et post vespertinum sacrificium—Philo de Victimis, p. 836. Edit. Paris. 1640.*

fore the silence precedes the sounding of the trumpets. It was necessary before the trumpets could be sounded, that they should be *given*, ver. 2. to the seven archangels, who were to execute the will of God, and to sound the trumpets each in his season. At the same time, ver. 3. 4. 5. 'another angel, like the priest, ' having a golden censer, offereth incense ' with the prayers of all saints; and then filleth the censer ' with fire of the altar, and casteth it into the earth; as in Ezekiel, x. 2. ' coals of fire' are taken ' from between the cherubims,' and scattered over Jerusalem, to denote the judgments of God to be executed upon that city. Whereupon immediately ensue ' voices, and thundrings, and lightnings, and an earthquake,' the usual prophetic signs and preludes of great calamities and commotions upon earth. Then the angels, ver. 6. ' prepare themselves to sound: ' and as the *seals* foretold the state and condition of the Roman empire before and till it became Christian, so the *trumpets* foreshew the fate and condition of it afterwards. ' The sound of the trumpet,' as Jeremiah, iv. 19. says, and as every one understands it, is ' the alarm of war: and the sounding of these trumpets is designed to rouse and excite the nations against the Roman empire, called ' the third part of the world,' as perhaps including the third part of the world, and being seated principally in Europe, the third part of the world at that time.

7 The first angel sounded, and there followed hail and fire mingled with blood, and they were cast upon the earth: and the third part of trees was burnt up, and all green grass was burnt up.

At the sounding of the first trumpet, ver. 7. the barbarous nations, like a storm of ' hail and fire mingled with blood,' invade the Roman territories; and destroy ' the third part of trees,' that is the trees of ' the third part of the earth' and ' the green grass,' that is both old and young, high and low, rich and poor together. Theodosius the Great died in the year 395; and no sooner was

* Socratis Eccles. Hist. Lib. 6. Cap. 1. Sozomen. Lib. 8. Cap. 1. Zosimi Hist. Lib. 5 et 6. Pauli Orosii Hist. Lib. 7. Cap. 37, &c. Car. Sigonii Hist. de Occidentali imperio, Lib. 10.

was he dead, than the * Huns, Goths, and other barbarians, like hail for multitude, and breathing fire and slaughter, broke in upon the best provinces of the empire both in the east and west, with greater success than they had ever done before. But by this trumpet, I conceive, were principally intended the irruptions and depredations of the Goths † under the conduct of the famous Alaric, who began his incursions in the same year 395, first ravaged Greece, then wasted Italy, besieged Rome, and was bought off at an exorbitant price, besieged it again in the year 410, took and plundered the city, and set fire to it in several places. Philostorgius, who lived and wrote of these times, ‡ saith, that “the sword of the barbarians destroyed the greatest multitude of men; and among other calamities dry heats with flashes of flame and whirlwinds of fire occasioned various and intolerable terrors; yea, and hail greater than could be held in a man’s hand fell down in several places, weighing as much as eight pounds.” Well therefore might the prophet compare these incursions of the barbarians to ‘hail and fire mingled with blood.’ Claudian in like manner compares them || to a storm of hail in his poem on this very war. Jerome also § saith of some of these barbarians, “that they came on unexpectedly every where, and marching quicker than report, spared not religion, nor dignities, nor age, nor had com-

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passion

* Z. sim. Oros. Sigon, ibid. &c. Philostorgius, Lib. 11. et 12.

† βαρβαρικὴ μὲν γὰρ τὸ τῆς θύρας πλῆθος ἐργαζέτο μαχαιρᾷ.—αὐχμῶ φλογυδαίς, πρηστῆρσι τε ἵνιν οἷς ἐμβάλλεσθαι, ποικίλον τε τὸ δαίον ἵππων καὶ ἀφρητόν· καὶ ὃ καὶ χαλαρὰ μέζων ἢ πᾶσα χερμαδα πολλὰ χα γῆς κα-
ταφύρο. ἀχρὶ γὰρ καὶ ὀκτὼ τῶν λεγομένων λίτρων ἑλκυσσά βαρὺς ἀφθὴ κα-
τασκήψασα. Nam et barbaricus ensis maximam hominum multitudi-
nem delevit;—siccitates flammæ, et ignis turbines cœlitus immissi,
multiplicem atque intolerabilem intulerunt calamitatem. Sed et
grando lapide manum implente major, multis in locis decidit. De-
prehensa enim est alicubi, quæ octo librarum, ut vocant, pondus
æquaret. Philostorgii. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 11. Cap. 7.

‡ Claudian. de Bello Getico. ver. 173.

Ex illo, quocunque vagos impegit Erinny's,
Grandinis aut morbi retu seu devia rerum.

Præcipites, per clausa, ruunt.

Where Mr Daubuz would read *nimbi* instead of *morbi*.

| Inferati ubique aberant, et famam celeritate vincentes, non religioni, non dignitatibus, non ætati parcebant, non vagientis miserabuntur infantia. Cogebantur mori, qui nondum vivere cœperant. Hieron. Epist. 84. de morte Fabiolæ. Col. 661. Tom. 4. Par. 2. Edit. Benedicti.

passion on crying infants ; those were compelled to die, who had not yet begun to live." So truly did they destroy the *trees* and the *green grass* together

8 And the second angel founded, and as it were a great mountain burning with fire was cast into the sea ; and the third part of the sea became blood :
 9 And the third part of the creatures which were in the sea, and had life, died ; and the third part of the ships were destroyed.

At the sounding of the second trumpet, ver. 8, 9. ' as it were a great mountain burning with fire, that is a great warlike nation or hero, (for in the * stile of poetry, which is near akin to the stile of prophecy, heroes are compared to mountains ;) ' cast into the sea, turneth the third part of it into blood, and destroyeth the fishes and the ships therein ;' that is, falling on the Roman empire, maketh a sea of blood, with horrible destruction of the cities and inhabitants : for *waters*, as the angel afterwards xvii. 15. explains them to St John, ' are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues,' and ' the third part' is all along the Roman empire ; for it possessed in Asia and Africa, as much as it wanted in Europe to make up the third part of the world, and the principal part was in Europe, the third part of the world at that time. The next great ravagers after Alaric and his Goths were Attila and his Huns, who for the space of fourteen years, as † Sigonius says, shook the east and west with the most cruel fear, and deformed the provinces of each empire with all kind of plundering, slaughter, and burning. They first wasted Thrace, Macedon and Greece, putting all to fire and sword, and compelled the eastern emperor, Theodosius the second, to purchase a shameful peace,

* So Virgil of his hero, *Æn.* XII. 701.

Quantus Athos, aut quantus Eryx, aut ipse coruscis
 Cum fremir illicibus quantus, gaudetque nivali
 Vertice se attolens patar Appenninus ad auras.

† Sigonius de Occidentali Imperio, Lib. 13. Hunnica jam hinc bella scribere ordiemur, quae post per quatuor decim annos saevissima orientem, occidentemque formidine concusserunt, atque utriusque imperii provincias omni direptione, strage, atque incendio deformarunt.

‡ Sigonius *ibid.* Jornandes de rebus Get. &c. &c.

peace. Then Attila turned his arms against the western emperor, Valentinian the third; entered Gaul with seven hundred thousand men, and not content with taking and spoiling, set most of the cities on fire. But at length being there vigorously opposed, he fell upon Italy, took and destroyed Aquileia with several other cities, slaying the inhabitants, and laying the buildings in ashes, and * filled all places between the Alps and Appenine with flight, depopulation, slaughter, servitude, burning, and desperation. He was preparing to march to Rome, but was diverted from his purpose by a solemn embassy from the emperor, and the promise of an annual tribute; and so concluding a truce, retired out of Italy, and passed into his own dominions beyond the Danube. Such a man might properly be compared to 'a great mountain burning with fire,' who really was, as he called himself, † *the scourge of God, and the terror of men*, and boasted that he was sent into the world by God for this purpose, that as the executioner of his just anger he might fill the earth with all kinds of evils, and he bounded his cruelty and passion by nothing less than blood and burning.

10 And the third angel founded, and there fell a great star from heaven burning as it were a lamp, and it fell upon the third part of the rivers, and upon the fountains of waters :

11 And the name of the star is called Wormwood : and the third part of the waters became wormwood : and many men died of the waters, because they were made bitter.

At the sounding of the third trumpet, ver. 10, 11. a great prince appears like 'a star shooting from heaven to earth;' a similitude not † unusual in poetry. His coming

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* Jam omnia, quæ intra Appenninum et Alpes erant, fuga, populatione, caede, servitute, incendio, et desperatione repleta erant. Sigon. ibid. Ann. 452.

† Qui se Flagellum Dei, et Terrorem hominum appellabat, et ad id in mundum a Deo missum jactabat, ut tanquam justæ illius vindæ iræ terras omni malorum genere permisceret et crudelitatem ac libidinem suam non nisi sanguine et incendio terminabat. Sigon. ibid.

† Homer: Illiad. IV 75.

Οιον δ' αἶψα ἦκε Κρονὺ πάρις ἀγκυλομήτης,

Ἡ ναυτὸς τεραεὶς, καὶ στρατὸς ἰσχυρὸς λαῶν.

Λαμποῦν τὸ θεῖόν τε πολλοὶ ἀπὸ σπινθηρῶν ἰστανται,

ming therefore is sudden and unexpected, and his stay but short. 'The name of the star is called Wormwood,' and he infects 'the third part of the rivers and fountains with the bitterness of wormwood;' that is, he is a bitter enemy, and proveth the author of grievous calamities to the Roman empire. The *rivers* and *fountains* have a near connection with the *sea*: and it was within two years after Attila's retreat from Italy, that Valentinian was murdered, and Maximus who had caused him to be murdered reigned in his stead, * Genferic the king of the Vandals settled in Africa was solicited by Eudoxia the widow of the deceased emperor, to come and revenge his death. Genferic accordingly embarked with three hundred thousand Vandals and Moors, and arrived upon the Roman coast in June 455, the emperor and people not expecting nor thinking of any such enemy. He landed his men, and marched directly towards Rome; whereupon the inhabitants flying into the woods and mountains, the city fell an easy prey into his hands. He abandoned it to the cruelty and avarice of his soldiers, who plundered it for fourteen days together, not only spoiling the private houses and palaces, but stripping the public buildings, and even the churches of their riches and ornaments. He then set sail again for Africa, carrying away with him immense wealth and an innumerable multitude of captives, together with the empress Eudoxia and her two daughters; and left the state so weakened, that in a little time it was utterly subverted. Some critics understand *rivers* and *fountains* with relation to doctrines; and in this sense the application is still very proper to Genferic, who was a most bigotted Arian, and during his whole reign most cruelly persecuted the orthodox Christians. Victor Uticensis, or Vitenfis as he is more usually called, who * wrote in three books the history of this persecution by the Vandals, speaking of St Austin † hath used this very
same

* Evagr^{us} Hist. Eccles. Lib. 2. Cap. 7. Zonarae Annal. Lib. 13. in fine. Sigonius de imperio Occidentali Lib. 14. Ann. 455, &c. &c.

† Vossius de Hist. Latinis Lib. 2. Cap. 18. Hofmanni Lex.

‡ Tunc illud eloquentiae, quod ubertim per omnes campos ecclesiae decurrebat, ipso metu siccatum est flumen; atque dulcedo suavitatis dulcius propinata, in amaritudinem absinthii versa est, victor Vit de persecut. Vandal. Lib. 1. n. 3. Vide etiam Vitam Augustini Lib. 8. Cap. 11. Sect. 2. Edit. Benedict.

same metaphor, of the river of his eloquence being dried up, and his sweetness turned into *the bitterness of wormwood*.

12 And the fourth angel sounded, and the third part of the sun was smitten, and the third part of the moon, and the third part of the stars; so as the third part of them was darkened, and the day shone not for a third part of it, and the night likewise.

At the sounding of the fourth trumpet, ver. 12. 'the third part of the sun, moon, and stars,' that is, the great lights of the Roman empire, are eclipsed and *darkened*, and remain in darkness for some time. Genferic left the western empire in a weak and desperate condition. It struggled hard, and gasped as it were for breath, through * eight short and turbulent reigns, for the space of twenty years, and at length expired in the year 476, under Momyllus, or Augustulus as he was named in derision, being a diminutive Augustus. This change was effected by Odoacer king of the Heruli, who coming to Rome, with an army of barbarians, stripped Momyllus of the imperial robes, put an end to the very name of the western empire, and caused himself to be proclaimed king of Italy. His kingdom indeed was of no long duration, for after a reign of sixteen years he was overcome and slain † in the year 493 by Theodoric king of the Ostrogoths, who founded the kingdom of the Ostrogoths in Italy, which continued about sixty years under his successors. Thus was the Roman *sun* extinguished in the western emperor; but the other lesser luminaries, the *moon* and *stars*, still subsisted; for Rome was still allowed to have her senate, and consuls, and other subordinate magistrates as before. Odoacer ‡ at first suppressed them, but after two or three years restored them again. Theodoric || changed none of the Roman institutes; he retained

* Sigonius de Occidentali Imperio. Lib. 14. et 15. in initio.

† Sigonius ibid. Lib. 15. in fine Procop. de Bell Goth Lib. 1. Cap. 1.

‡ Sigonius ibid. Lib. 15. Ann. 476. et 479.

|| Jam vero nullum Romanum institutum mutavit: siquidem et, senatum, et consules, patricios,—caeterosque qui fuerant in imperio, magistratus retinuit eosque Romanis hominibus tantum mandavit. Sigonius ibid. Lib. 16. Ann. 494.

tained the senate, and consuls, and patricians, and all the ancient magistrates, and committed those offices only to Romans. These lights, we may suppose, shone more faintly under barbarian kings than under Roman emperors; but they were not totally suppressed and extinguished, till after the kingdom of the Ostrogoths was destroyed by the emperor of the east's lieutenants, and Italy was made a province of the eastern empire. Longinus was sent then in the year 556 by the emperor Justin II. to govern Italy with absolute authority and he changed the whole form of the government, abolished the senate, and consuls, and all the former magistrates in Rome, and Italy, and in every city of note constituted a new governor with the title of Duke. He himself presided over all; and residing at Ravenna, and not at Rome, he was called the Exarch of Ravenna, as were also his successors in the same office. Rome was degraded to the same level with other places, and from being the queen of cities and empress of the world was reduced to a poor Dukedom, and made tributary to Ravenna which she had used to govern.

13 And I beheld, and the inhabitants of the earth, heard an angel flying by reason of the other voices of the trumpet of the heaven, saying with a loud three angels which are yet voice, Woe, woe, woe to to sound.

Notice is then proclaimed by an angel, ver 13. that the three other trumpets sound to still greater and more terrible plagues, and are therefore distinguished from the former by the name of *woes*. The design of this messenger is to raise our attention to the following trumpets; and the following we shall find to be more strongly marked than the foregoing. The foregoing relate chiefly to the downfall of the western empire; the two following relate chiefly to the downfall of the eastern empire. The foregoing are described more succinctly, and contain a less compass of time; the following are set forth with more particular circumstances, and are of longer duration as well as of larger description.

CHAP.

* Sigonii Hist. de Regno Italiae. Lib. 1. Blondi Decad. prima Lib. 8

CHAP. IX.

1 **AND** the fifth angel sounded, and I saw a star fall from heaven unto the earth : and to him was given the key of the bottomless pit.

2 And he opened the bottomless pit, and there arose a smoke out of the pit, as the smoke of a great furnace : and the sun and the air were darkened by reason of the smoke of the pit.

3 And there came out of the smoke locusts upon the earth ; and unto them was given power, as the scorpions of the earth have power.

4 And it was commanded them that they should not hurt the grass of the earth, neither any green thing, neither any tree ; but only those men which have not the seal of God on their foreheads.

5 And to them it was given that they should not kill them, but that they should be tormented five months : and their torment *was* as the torment of a scorpion, when he striketh a man.

6 And in those days shall men seek death, and shall

not find it ; and shall desire to die, and death shall flee from them.

7 And the shapes of the locusts *were* like unto horses prepared unto battle ; and on their heads *were* as it were crowns like gold, and their faces *were* as the faces of men.

8 And they had hair as the hair of women, and their teeth were as the *teeth* of lions.

9 And they had breastplates, as it were breastplates of iron ; and the sound of their wings *was* as the sound of chariots of many horses running to battle.

10 And they had tails like unto scorpions, and there were stings in their tails : and there power was to hurt men five months.

11 and they had a king over them, *which is* the angel of the bottomless pit, whose name in the Hebrew tongue is Abaddon, but in the Greek tongue hath his name Apollyon.

12 One woe is past, and behold there come two woes more hereafter.

At the sounding of the fifth trumpet, ver. 1, 2, 3. 'a star falling from heaven,' meaning the wicked impostor Mohammed,

Mohammed, 'opened the bottomless pit, and there arose a smoke out of the pit, and the sun and the air were darkened' by it; that is, a false religion was set up, which filled the world with darkness and error; and swarms of Saracen or Arabian *locusts* overspread the earth. A false prophet is very fitly typified by a blazing *star* or *meteor*. The Arabians likewise are properly compared to *locusts*, not only because numerous armies frequently are so, but also because swarms of locusts often arise from Arabia: and also because in the plagues of Egypt, to which constant allusion is made in these trumpets, 'the locusts,' Exod. x. 13. are 'brought by an east-wind,' that is, from Arabia, which lay eastward of Egypt; and also because in the book of Judges vii. 12. the people of Arabia are compared to 'locusts or grasshoppers for multitude,' for in the original the word for both is the same. As the natural locusts * are bred in pits and holes of the earth, so these mystical locusts are truly *infernal*, and proceed with the smoke 'from the bottomless pit.' It is too a remarkable coincidence, that at this time 'the sun and the air were *really* darkened.' For we learn from an † eminent Arabian historian, that "in the seventeenth year of Heraclius half the body of the sun was eclipsed, and this defect continued from the former Tifrin to Haziran, (that is from October to June) so that only a little of its light appeared." The seventeenth year of Heraclius † coincides with the year of Christ 626, and with the 5th year of the Hegira; and at this time Mohammed was training and exercising his followers in depredations at home, to fit and prepare them for greater conquests abroad.

'It was commanded them, ver. 4. that they should not hurt the grass of the earth, neither any green thing, neither any tree;' which demonstrates that those were not natural, but symbolical locusts. The like injunctions were given to the Arabian officers and soldiers. When

Yezid

* Vide Gesner de Insect. Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 11. Cap. 29. Sect. 35. Edit. Harduin

† Anno Heraclii decimo septimo dimidium corporis solaris lumine defecit, mansitque ejus deliquium a Tifrin priori ad Haziran, adeo sit non appareret nisi parum quid de lumine ipsius. Abul-Pharajii. Hist. Dyn. 8. p. 99. Vers. Pocockii.

‡ Blair's Chron. Tab. No 33. Abul-Pharajii Dyn. 9. p. 102. El-macini Hist. Saracen, Lib. 2. p. 6.

Yezid was marching with the army to invade Syria, Abubeker charged him * with this among other orders; "Destroy no palm-tree, nor burn any fields of corn; cut down no fruit-trees, nor do any mischief to cattle, only such as you kill to eat." Their commission is to 'hurt only those men who have not the seal of God in their foreheads; that is, those who are not the true servants of God, but are corrupt and idolatrous Christians. Now from history it appears evidently, that in those countries of Asia, Africa, and Europe, where the Saracens extended their conquests, the Christians were generally guilty of idolatry in the worshipping of saints, if not of images; and it was the pretence of Mohammed and his followers to chastise them for it, and to re-establish the unity of the Godhead. The parts which remained the freest from the general infection were Savoy, Piedmont, and the southern parts of France, which were afterwards the nurseries and habitations of the Waldenses and Albigenes; and it is very memorable, that † when the Saracens approached these parts, they were defeated with great slaughter by the famous Charles Martel in several engagements.

As they were to hurt only the corrupt and idolatrous Christians, so these, ver. 5, 6. they were not to *kill* but only to *torment*, and should bring such calamities upon the earth, as should make men weary of their lives. Not that it could be supposed that the Saracens would not *kill* many thousands in their incursions. On the contrary their angel, ver. 11. hath the name of *the destroyer*. They might *kill* them as individuals, but still they should not *kill* them as a political body, as a state or empire. They might greatly harass and *torment* both the Greek and the Latin churches, but they should not utterly extirpate the one or the other. They besieged Constantinople, and ‡ even plundered Rome; but they could not make themselves masters of either of those capital cities. The Greek empire suffered most from them, as it lay nearest to them. They dismembered it of Syria and Egypt, and some other

* Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens. Vol. 1. p. 25.

† Petavii Rationar Temp. Part 1. Lib. 8. Cap. 3. Mezeray A-brege Chronol. A. D. 732, &c.

‡ Sigonii Hist. de Regno Italiae Lib. 5. Ann. 846.

ther of its best and richest provinces ; but they were never able to subdue and conquer the whole. As often as they besieged Constantinople, * they were repulsed and defeated. They attempted it in the reign of Constantine Pogonatus A. D. 672 ; but their men and ships were miserably destroyed by the sea-fire invented by Callinicus, and after seven years fruitless pains they were compelled to raise the siege, and to conclude a peace. They attempted it again † in the reign of Leo Isauricus A. D. 718 : but they were forced to desist by famine, and pestilence, and losses of different kinds. In this attempt they exceeded their commission, and therefore they were not crowned with their usual success. The taking of this city, and the putting an end to this empire, was a work reserved for another power, as we shall see under the next trumpet.

In the following verses, 7, 8, 9, 10. the nature and qualities of these locusts are described, partly in allusion to the properties of natural locusts and the description given of them by the prophet Joel, and partly in allusion to the habits and manners of the Arabians, to shew that not real but figurative locusts were here intended. The first quality mentioned is their being ‘ like unto horses prepared unto battle ; which is copied from Joel, ii. 4. ‘ The appearance of them is as the appearances of horses, and as horsemen, so shall they run.’ Many authors have ‡ observed that the head of a locust resembles that of an horse. The Italians therefore call them *cavalette*, as it were little horses. The Arabians too have in all ages been famous for their horses and horsemanship. Their strength is well known to consist chiefly in their cavalry.

Another distinguishing mark and character is their having ‘ on their heads as it were crowns like gold ;’ which
is

* Theoph. Cedren. ad an. Const. 5. Zonarae Annales Lib. 14. Cap. 20, &c. Petavii Rationar. Temp. Part. 1. Lib. 8. Cap. 1. Blair’s Chronol. Tab. No. 34. Part 2d.

† Sigonii Hist. de Regno Italiae Lib. 3. Anno 718. Petav. ibid. Cap. 5.

‡ Vide Albertum, Aldrovandum, Theodoretum, &c. apud. Bochart. Hieroz. Part. Post. Lib. 4. Cap. 5.—caput aut faciem equinae non absurdum. A qua locustiae ab italis vocantur *cavalette*. Col. 374

Is an allusion to the head-dress of the Arabians, * who have constantly worn turbants or mitres, and boast of having those ornaments for their common attire, which are crowns and diadems with other people. The *crowns* also signify the kingdoms, and dominions which they should acquire. For, as Mr Mede † excellently observes, "No nation had ever so wide a command, nor ever were so many kingdoms, so many regions subjugated in so short a space of time. It sounds incredible, yet most true it is; that in the space of eighty or not many more years, they subdued and acquired to the diabolical kingdom of Mohammed Palestine, Syria, both Armenias, almost all Asia Minor, Persia, India, Egypt, Numidia, all Barbary even to the river Niger, Portugal, Spain. Neither did their fortune or ambition stop here, till they had added also a great part of Italy, as far as to the gates of Rome; moreover Sicily, Candia, Cyprus, and the other islands of the Mediterranean sea. Good God! how great a tract of land! how many *crowns* were here? Whence also it is worthy of observation, that mention is not made here, as in other trumpets, of the third part: forasmuch as this plague fell no less without the bounds of the Roman empire than within it, and extended itself even to the remotest Indies."

They had also 'faces as the faces of men, and hair as the hair of women:' and the Arabians wore their beards, or at least mustachoes, as men; while the hair of their

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heads

* Arabes mitrati degunt, Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 6. Cap. 28. Sect. 30. Edit. Harduin. Hic mitra velatus Arab. Claudian de Laud. Stil. I. 156. Pocockii Not. in Carm. Tograï Arab. pag. ult.

† Nulli unquam genti tam late regnatum fuit, neque tam brevi temporis spatio unquam tot regna, tot regiones, sub jugum missa. Incredibili dictu, verissimum tamen est; Octoginta, aut non multo plurium, annorum spatio subjugarunt illi et diabolico regno Muhammedis acquisiverunt Palaestinam, Syriam, Armeniam utramque, totam ferme Asiam minorem, Persiam, Indiam Ægyptum, Numidiam, Barbariam totam ad Nigrum usque fluvium, Lusitaniam, Hispaniam. Neque hic stetit illorum fortuna, aut ambitio; domes et Italiae magnam quoque partem adjecerint, ad portas usque urbis Romae; quin etiam Siciliam, Candiam, Cyprum, et reliquas maris Mediterraneæ sulas. Deus bone, quantus hic terrarum tractus! quot hic *coronæ*! Unde dignum quoque observatu est, non hic, ut in cæteris tubis, *trientis* mentionem fieri: siquidem non minus extra imperii Romani fines quam intra ipsum caderot hæc clades, ad extremos usque indos sel porrectura. Mede p. 468.

heads was flowing or plaited like that of women; as * Pliny and other ancient authors testify. Another property copied from Joel is their having 'teeth as the teeth of lions;' that is, strong to devour. So Joel describes the locusts, i. 6. as 'a nation, whose teeth are the teeth of a lion, and he hath the cheek-teeth of a great lion:' and it is wonderful how they bite and gnaw all things, as † Pliny says, even the dohrs of the houses. They had also 'breast-plates, as it were breast-plates of iron:' and the locusts have a hard shell or skin, which ‡ hath been called their armour. This figure is designed to express the defensive, as the former was the offensive arms of the Saracens. 'And the sound of their wings was as the sound of chariots of many horses running to battle.' Much the same comparison had been used by Joel, ii. 5. 'Like the noise of chariots on the tops of mountains shall they leap:' and || Pliny affirms, that they fly with so great a noise of their wings, that they may be taken for birds. Their wings, and 'the sound of their wings,' denote the swiftness and rapidity of their conquests; and it is indeed astonishing, that in less than a century they erected an empire, which extended from India to Spain.

Moreover they are thrice compared unto 'scorpions,' ver. 3, 5, 10. and had stings in their tails like unto scorpions; that is, they should draw a poisonous train after them, and wherever they carried their arms, there also they should disseminate the venom of a false religion. It is farther added, ver. 11. that they had a king over them; the

* Arabes mitrati degunt, aut intonso crine: barba abraditur, præterquam in superiore labro. Aliis et hæc intonsa, Plin. ibid. Plurimis crinis intonsus, mitrata capita, pars rasa in cutem barba. Solinus Cap. 33. p. 46. Edit. Salmastii Trinitus quidam, &c. Amman Marcell. Lib. 13. ubi notat Valerius, Talis erat habitus Saracenorum, ut docet Hieronymus in vita Malchi. Ecce subito equorum camelorumque sessores asmalitæ irruunt, crinibus vitatisque capitibus, &c. et Theodorus Mopsuestenus in Caput X Hieremias, Saracenos ait comam a fronte quidem deponere retro autem intonsam demittere &c. p. 954. Edit. Paris 1681.

† Omnia vero morfu erodentes, et fores quoque tectorum Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 11. Cap. 19. Sect. 15. Edit. Harduin.

‡ Claudian Epigram 32. De locusta: Fragmentum

—cognatus dorso duræ fecit amictus

Armavit natura cutem.

|| Tanto volant pennarum stridore, ut aliæ alites credantur Plin. ibid.

the same person should exercise temporal as well as spiritual sovereignty over them ; and the caliphs were their emperors, as well as the heads of their religion. The king is, the same as the *star* or ' angel of the bottomless pit,' whose name is *Abaddon* in Hebrew, and *Apollyon* in Greek, that is *the destroyer*. Mr Mede * imagines, that this is some allusion to the name of *Obodas*, the common name of the kings of that part of Arabia from whence Mohammed came, as *Pharaoh* was the common name of the kings of Egypt, and *Cesar* of the emperors of Rome : and such allusions are not unusual in the stile of scripture. However that be, the name agrees perfectly well with Mohammed and the caliphs his successors, who were the authors of all those horrid wars and desolations, and openly taught and professed that their religion was to be propagated and established by the sword.

One difficulty, and the greatest of all, remains yet to be explained ; and that is the period of ' five months' assigned those locusts, which being twice mentioned, merits the more particular consideration. They ' tormented men five months,' ver. 5. and again, ver. 10. ' their power was to hurt men five months.' It is said without doubt in conformity to the type ; for locusts † are observed to live about ' five months,' that is from April to September. Scorpions too, as ‡ Bochart asserts, are noxious for no longer a term, the cold rendering them torpid and inactive. But of these locusts it is said, not that their duration or existence was only for ' five months,' but their ' power of hurting and tormenting men' continued ' five months.' Now these months may either be months commonly so taken : or prophetic months, consisting each of 30 days, as St John reckons them, and so making 150 years at the rate of each day for a year ; or the number

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being

* Mede *ibid.* p. 470.

† *Vergitharum exortu parere, (Circa Maii Nonas) deinde ad Cais ortum obire (Circa XV Calendas augusti) et alias renasci.* Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 11. Cap. 29. Sect. 35. Edit. Hard. *Locustæ vere natæ sub finem æstatis obeunt, nec supra quinque menses vivere solent.* Bochart. Hieroz. Part Post. Lib. 4. Cap. 8. Col. 495.

‡ *Nec frustra est, quod mysticis locustis, quæ scorpionum cauda habent, non datur potestas nocendi hominibus, nisi per menses quinque. Quippe ut locustæ, ita nec scorpiones diutius nocent. Nam per frigora torpent, nec quidquam ab his est periculi.* Bochart. *ibid.* Lib. 4. Cap. 29. Col. 645.

being repeated twice, the sums may be thought to be doubled, and 'five months' and 'five months' in prophetic computation will amount to 300 years. If these months be taken for common months, then, as the natural locusts live and do hurt only in the five summer months, so the Saracens, in the five summer months too, made their excursions, and retreated again in the winter. It appears, that this was their usual practice, and particularly when * they first besieged Constantinople in the time of Constantine Pogonatus. For "from the month of April, till September, they pertinaciously continued their siege, and then despairing of success, departed to Cyzicum, where they wintered, and in spring, again renewed the war: and this course they held for seven years, as the Greek annals tell us." If these months be taken for prophetic months or 150 years, it was within that space of time that the Saracens made their principal conquests. Their empire might subsist much longer, but their *power of hurting and tormenting men* was exerted chiefly within that period. Read the history of the Saracens, and you will find that their greatest exploits were performed, their greatest conquests were made, between the † year 612 when Mohammed first 'opened the bottomless pit,' and began publicly to teach and propagate his imposture, and the year 762, when the Caliph Almanfor built Bagdad, to fix there the seat of his empire, and called it *the city of peace*. Syria, Persia, India, and the greatest part of Asia: Egypt, and the greatest part of Africa; Spain, and some parts of Europe, were all subdued in the intermediate time. But when the caliphs, who before had removed from place to place, fixed their habitation at Bagdad, then the Saracens ceased

* Howel's Hist. of the world. Part. 3. Chap. 4. Sect. 7. p. 288.—
απο μηνος Απριλλιου ως Σεπτεμβριου. και ύπεσιφαντες εν Κυζικω, τάντην πα-
ράλκωσαντες, και χειμαζουσιν εκεί και κατά τας ήμέρας πολέμουν μετά των
χριστιανων, επί ιατα ιτη—ab Aprili usque ad Septembrem memsem.
Inde barbari revertentes Cyzicum occupaverunt, at que ibi hye-
marunt: et vere rursus Christianis bellum fecerunt. Hoc modo
septem annos se gessere. Cedreni Hist. Compend. p. 437. Edit. Pa-
ris. p. 345. Edit. Venet. Vide etiam Theophanis Chronograph. p.
264. Edit. Paris. p. 234. Edit. Venet.

† Prideaux Life of Mahomet. p. 14. 8th Edit. Elmacine Hist.
Saracen. Lib. 1. Cap. 1. p. 3. et Lib. 2. Cap. 3. p. 102. Abul Pha-
rajji Hist. Dyn. 9. p. 14. Vers. Pocockii Blair's Chronol. Tab.
No. 36. Part 2d.

ed from their incursions and ravages like locusts, and became a settled nation; then they made no more such rapid and amazing conquests as before, but only engaged in common and ordinary wars like other nations; then their power and glory began to decline, and their empire by little and little to moulder away; then they had no longer, like the prophetic locusts, 'one king over them,' Spain * having revolted in the year 736 and set up another caliph in opposition to the reigning house of Abbas. If these months be taken doubly, or for 300 years, then according to † Sir Isaac Newton, "the whole time that the caliphs of the Saracens reigned with a temporal dominion at Damascus and Bagdad together, was 300 years, viz. from the year 637, to the year 936 inclusive;" when ‡ their empire was broken and divided into several principalities or kingdoms. So that let these 'five months' be taken in any possible construction, the event will still answer, and the prophecy will still be fulfilled; though the second method of interpretation and application appears much more probable than either the first or the third.

In the conclusion it is added, ver. 12. 'One woe is past, and behold there come two woes more hereafter.' This is added, not only to distinguish the woes, and to mark more strongly each period, but also to suggest that some time will intervene between this first woe of the Arabian locusts, and the next of the Euphratean horsemen. The similitude between the locusts and Arabians is indeed so great, that it cannot fail of striking every curious observer: and a farther resemblance is || noted by Mr Daubuz, that "there hath happened in the extent of this torment a coincidence of the event, with the name of the locusts. The Saracens have made inroads into all those parts of Christendom where the natural locusts are wont to be seen and known to do mischief, and no where else: And that too in the same proportion. Where the locusts

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are

* Elmacini Hist. Saracen, Lib. 2. Cap. 3. p. 101. Blair ibid.

† Sir Isaac Newton on the Apoc. Chap. 3. p. 305. See likewise p. 91. of Mr Jackson's Address to the Deists: wherein are some pertinent observations concerning the completion of this and the succeeding Woe.

‡ Elmacin. Lib. 3. Cap. 1. p. 203. Blair's Tab. No. 39.

|| Daubuz. p. 409.

are seldom seen, there the Saracens slayed little : where the natural locusts are often seen, there the Saracens abode most ; and where they breed most, there the Saracens had their beginning and greatest power. This may be easily verified by history."

13 And the sixth angel sounded, and I heard a voice from the four horns of the golden altar, which is before God.

14 Saying to the sixth angel which had the trumpet, Loose the four angels which are bound in the great river Euphrates.

15 And the four angels were loosed, which were prepared for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year, for to slay the third part of men.

16 And the number of the army of the horsemen were two hundred thousand thousand : and I heard the number of them.

17 And thus I saw the horses in the vision, and them that sat on them, having breast plates of fire and of jacinth, and brimstone : and the heads of the horses were as the heads of lions ; and out of their

mouths issued fire, and smoke, and brimstone.

18 By these three was the third part of men killed, by the fire, and by the smoke, and by the brimstone, which issued out of their mouths.

19 For their power is in their mouth, and in their tails : for their tails were like unto serpents, and had heads, and with them they do hurt.

20 And the rest of the men which were not killed by these plagues, yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils, and idols of gold and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood : which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk :

21 Neither repented they of their murders, nor of their sorceries, nor of their fornication, nor of their thefts.

At the sounding of the sixth trumpet, ver. 13. 14. 15. a voice proceeded 'from the four horns of the golden altar,' (for the scene was still in the temple), ordering the angel of the sixth trumpet 'to loose the four angels which were bound in the great river Euphrates ;' and they 'were loosed' accordingly. Such a voice proceeding 'from

'from the four horns of the golden altar' is a strong indication of the divine displeasure; and plainly intimates that the sins of men must have been very great, when the altar, which was their sanctuary, and protection, called aloud for vengeance. 'The four angels' are the four sultanies or four leaders of the Turks and Othmans. For there were four principal sultanies or kingdoms of the Turks bordering upon the river Euphrates: * one at Bagdad founded by Togrul Beg, or Tangrolipix, as he is more usually called, in the year 1055: another at Damascus founded by Tagjuddaulas or Ducas in the year 1079: a third at Aleppo founded by Sjarfuddaulas or Melech in the same year 1079: and the fourth at Iconium in Asia Minor founded by Sedyduddaulas or Cutlu Muses, or his son, in the year 1080. These four sultanies subsisted several years afterwards; and the sultans were bound and restrained from extending their conquests farther than the territories and countries adjoining to the river Euphrates, primarily by the good providence of God, and secondarily by the croisades or expeditions of the European Christians into the holy land in the latter part of the eleventh, and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Nay, the European Christians took several cities and countries from them, and confined them within narrower bounds. But when an end was put to the croisades, and the Christians totally abandoned their conquests in Syria and Palestine, as they did in the latter part of the thirteenth century; then 'the four angels on the river Euphrates were loosed.' Soliman Shah † the first chief and founder of the Othman race, retreating with his three sons from Jingiz Chan and the Tartars, would have passed the river Euphrates, but was unfortunately drowned, the time of 'loosing the four angels' being not yet come. Discouraged at this sad accident, two of his sons returned to their former habitations: but Ortogrul the Third, with his three sons Condoz, Sarubani, and Othman, remained some time in those parts, and having obtained

* Elmacini Hist. Saracen Lib. 3. Cap. 7. et 8. 281. et 284. Edit. Erpenii. Heylen. Cosm. B. 3. p. 726. Edit. 1703. Introduction to the Hist. of Asia. Cap. 11. Sect. 2. et 3. Sandy's Travels B. 1. p. 347th Edit.

† Pocockii Suppl. Abul-Pharaj. Hist. p. 41, 42. Herbelot. Bib. Orient. 822. 694, etc.

obtained leave of Aladin the sultan of Iconium, he came with four hundred of his Turks, and settled in the mountains of Armenia. From thence they began their excursions; and the other Turks associating with them, and following their standard, they gained several victories over the Tartars on one side, and over the Christians on the other. Ortogrul * dying in the year 1288, Othman his son succeeded him in power and authority; and in the year 1299, as some say with the consent of Aladin himself, he was proclaimed sultan, and founded a new empire; and the people afterwards, as well as the new empire, were called by his name. For though they disclaim the name of *Turks*, and assume that of *Othmans*, yet nothing is more certain, than that they are a mixt multitude, the remains of the four sultanies above mentioned, as well as the descendents particularly of the house of Othman.

In this manner and at this time 'the four angels were loosed which were prepared for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year, for to slay the third part of men,' that is, as before, the men of the Roman empire, and especially in Europe, the third part of the world. The Latin or western empire was broken to pieces under the four first trumpets; the Greek or eastern empire was cruelly *hurt* and *tormented* under the fifth trumpet; and here under the sixth trumpet is to be *slain* and utterly destroyed. Accordingly all Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Thrace, Macedon, Greece, and all the countries, which formerly belonged to the Greek or eastern Cæsars, the Othmans have conquered, and subjugated to their dominion. They first † passed over into Europe in the reign of Orchan their second emperor, and in the year 1357 they ‡ took Constantinople, in the reign of Mohammed their seventh emperor, and in the year 1453: and in time all the remaining parts of the Greek empire shared the fate of the capital city. The last of their conquests

* Pocock. *ibid.* Serbelot. p. 694, 697.

† Pocockii. *Supplem.* p. 43. *Herbelot.* p. 693. A. 758. *caepit* Decem. 25. 1356 Pocockii *Index.*

‡ Leunclav. *Pandect.* *Hist. Turc.* Cap. 129. p. 448. *Edit. Paris.* p. 339. *Edit. Venet.* Pocock. *ibid.* p. 47. *Herbelot.* p. 615. Prince Cantemir's *Hist. of the Othman empire.* B. 3. Chap. 1. Sect. 9. p. 103. Savage's *Abridg. of Knolles and Rycaut.* Vol. 1. p. 180, &c.

quests were * Candia or the ancient Crete in 669, and Cameniec in 1672. For the execution of this great work it is said that they 'were prepared for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year;' which will admit either of a literal or a mystical interpretation; and the former will hold good if the latter should fail. If it be taken literally, it is only expressing the same thing by different words, as 'peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues' are jointly used in other places: and then the meaning is, that they were prepared and ready to execute the divine commission at any time or for any time, any *hour*, or *day*, or *month*, or *year*, that God should appoint. If it be taken mystically, and the *hour*, and *day*, *month*, and *year*, be a prophetic *hour*, and *day*, and *month*, and *year*, then a *year* (according to St John's, who follows herein Daniel's computation) consisting of 360 days is 360 years, and a *month* consisting of 30 days is 30 years, and a *day* is a year, and an *hour* in the same proportion is fifteen days; so that the whole period of the Othmans 'slaying the third part of men,' or subduing the Christian states in the Greek or Roman empire, amounts to 391 years and 15 days. Now it is wonderfully remarkable, that the first conquest mentioned in history, of the Othmans over the Christians, was † in the year of the Hegira 680 and the year of Christ 1281. For Ortogrul "in that year (according to the accurate historian Saadi) crowned his victories with the conquest of the famous city of Kutahi upon the Greeks." Compute 391 years from that time, and they will terminate in the year 1672: and in that year, as it was hinted before, Mohammed the fourth * took Cameniec from the Poles, "and 48 towns and villages in the territory of Cameniec were delivered up" to the sultan upon the treaty of peace. Whereupon Prince Cantemir hath made this memorable reflection, "This was the last victory by which any advantage accrued to the Othman state, or any city or province was annexed to the ancient bounds of the empire." Agreeably to which observation, he hath intitled the former

* Prince Cantemir B. 3. Chap. 12. Sect. 8. p. 262. Sect. 16. p. 265. Savage, *ibid.* Vol. 2. p. 192, et 200.

† Prince Cantemir's Hist. B. 1. Chap. 2. Sect. 5. p. 10.

‡ Prince Cantemir's Hist. B. 3. Chap. Sect. 18, 19. p. 265.

mer part of his history of the growth of the Othman empire, and the following part of the decay of the Othman empire. Other wars and slaughters, as he says, have ensued. The Turks even besieged Vienna in 1683; but this exceeding the bounds of their commission, they were defeated. Belgrade and other places may have been taken from them, and surrendered to them again: but still they have subdued no new state or potentate of Christendom now for the space of between 80 and 90 years; and in all probability they never may again, their empire appearing rather to decrease than increase. Here then the prophecy and the event agree exactly in the period of 391 years; and if more accurate and authentic histories of the Othmans were brought to light, and we knew the very day wherein Kutahi was taken as certainly as we know that wherein Cameniec was taken, the like exactness might also be found in the 15 days. But though the time be limited for the Othman's 'slaying the third part of men,' yet no time is fixed for the duration of their empire; only this second woe will end, when the third woe, xi. 14. or the destruction of the beast, shall be at hand.

A description is then given, ver. 16—19. of the forces, and of the means and instruments, by which the Othmans, should affect the ruin of their eastern empire. The armies are described as very numerous, myriads of myriads; and who knoweth not what mighty armies the Othman emperors have brought into the field? When Mohammed the Second besieged Constantinople, he had * about four hundred thousand men in his army, besides a powerful fleet of thirty larger and two hundred lesser ships. They are described too chiefly as *horsemen*; and so they are described both by Ezekiel and by Daniel, as there was occasion to observe in the last dissertation upon Daniel: and it is well known, that their armies consisted chiefly of cavalry, especially before the order of Janizaries was instituted by Amurath the First. The Janizaries may be the guard of the court, but the Timariots, or horsemen holding

* *ἡξήντα γυνήδες κ. τ. λ.* Quadraginta myriades hominum dicuntur tunc temporis in exercitu regis fuisse—classis regie, in qua erant tri remes triginta, naves minores ducentæ. Laonicus Chalcocondylas de rebus Turcicis, Lib. 8. p. 203. Ed. Paris. p. 158. Ed. Venet.

holding lands by serving in the wars, are the strength of the government; and these, as Heylin * affirms, are in all accounted between seven and eight hundred thousand fighting men; some say that they are a million; and besides these, there are Spahi's and other horsemen in the emperor's pay.

In the vision that is in appearance, and not in reality, 'they had breast-plates of fire, and of jacinth or hyacinth, and brimstone.' The colour of *fire* is red, of *hyacinth* blue, and of *brimstone* yellow: and this, as Mr Daubuz † observes, "hath a literal accomplishment; for the Othmans, from the first time of their appearance, have affected to wear such warlike apparel of scarlet, blue, and yellow." Of the Spahi's particularly some have red, and some have yellow standards, and others red or yellow, mixt with other colours. In appearance too 'the heads of the horses were as the heads of lions,' to denote their strength, courage, and fierceness; 'and out of their mouths issued fire, and smoke, and brimstone.' A manifest allusion to great guns and gun-powder, which were invented under this trumpet, and were of such signal service to the Othmans in their wars. For 'by these three was the third part of men killed,' by these the Othmans made such havock and destruction in the Greek or eastern empire. Amurath the Second ‡ broke into Peloponesus, and took several strong places by the means of his artillery. But his son Mohammed at the siege of Constantinople || employed such great guns, as were never made before.

One

* Heylin's Cosm. B. 3. p. 729. Edit. 1703. Sandy's Travels, B. 1. p. 38. 7th Edit.

† Daubuz. p. 444. See too Rycant's Present State of the Ottoman Empire, B. 3. Chap. 3. Tournefort's Voyage, vol. 2. Lett. I. p. 36, &c.

‡ Chalcocond. ibid. Lib. 7.

|| *καὶ τοὺς βασιλεὺς μεγάλους. α. κ. α. Bombardæ fieri curavit maximas, quantas novimus ea tempestate nunquam extitisse.—Tanta hujus bombardæ magnitudo extitit, ut a septuaginta jugis boum et a viris bis mille trahenda fuerit.—Bombardæ quas rex habebat, duæ maximæ, emittebant lapidem qui appendebat talenta duo—Hæc emittebant lapidem, cujus pondus erat dimidium talentum—Bombardæ maxima torquebat globum cujus pondus continebat tria circiter talenta.—Bombardæ hujus tonitru tantum effe traditum est ut finitima regio usque ad quadraginta stadia concuteretur.—Jam quadraginta diebus murus bombardis fortiter quassatus erat, &c. Chalcocond. ibid. Lib. 8. p. 203, 204. Edit. Paris. p. 158, 159. Edit. Venet.*

One is described to have been of such a monstrous size, that it was drawn by seventy yoke of oxen and by two thousand men. There were two more, each of which discharged a stone of the weight of two talents. Others emitted a stone of the weight of half a talent. But the greatest of all discharged a ball of the weight of three talents, or about three hundred pounds: and the report of this cannon is said to have been so great, that all the country round about was shaken to the distance of forty furlongs. For forty days the wall was battered by these guns, and so many breaches were made, that the city was taken by assault, and an end put to the Grecian empire.

Moreover 'they had power to do hurt by their tails,' as well as by their mouths, their tails being like unto serpents, and 'having heads.' In this respect they very much resemble 'the locusts;' only the different tails are accommodated to the different creatures, the tails of 'scorpions to locusts;' the tails of 'serpents with an head at each end to horses.' By this figure it is meant, that the Turks draw after them the same poisonous trains as the Saracens; they profess and propagate the same imposture; they do hurt not only by their conquests, but also by spreading their false doctrine; and wherever they establish their dominion, there too they establish their religion. Many indeed of the Greek church remained, and are still remaining among them; but they are * made to pay daily for the exercise of their religion; are subjected to a capitation-tax, which is rigorously exacted upon all above fourteen years of age; are burdened besides with the most heavy and arbitrary impositions upon every occasion; are compelled to the lowest and most servile drudgery; are abused in their persons, and robbed of their property; have not only the mortification of seeing some of their friends and kindred daily apostatise to the ruling religion. But had even their children taken from them to be educated therein, of whom the most robust and hardy were trained up to the soldiery, the more weakly and tender were castrated for the seraglio: but notwithstanding these persecutions and oppressions some remains of the Greek church are still preserved

* See Smith's and Rycart's accounts of the Greek church.

served among them, as we may reasonably conclude, to serve some great and mysterious ends of providence.

But though the Greek church was thus ruined and oppressed, 'the rest of men,' ver. 20, 21. 'who were not killed by these plagues,' the Latin church which pretty well escaped these calamities, 'yet repented not of the works of their hands,' that they should not worship devils; ~~demons~~ demons or second mediatory gods, as it hath largely been shewn before, saints and angels, 'and idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and wood.' From hence it is evident, that these calamities were inflicted upon the Christians for their idolatry. As the eastern churches were first in the crime, so they were first likewise in the punishment. At first they were visited by the plague of the Saracens, but this working no change or reformation, they were again chastised by the still greater plague of the Othmans; were partly overthrown by the former, and were entirely ruined by the latter. What churches were then remaining, which were guilty of the like idolatry, but the western, or those in the communion with Rome? And the western were not at all reclaimed by the ruin of the eastern, but persisted still in the worship of saints, and (what is worse) the worship of images, 'which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk:' and the world is witness to the completion of this prophecy to this day. 'Neither repented they of their murders,' their persecutions and inquisitions, 'nor of their sorceries,' their pretended miracles and revelations, 'nor of their fornication,' their public fairs and uncleannesses, 'nor of their thefts,' their exactions and impositions on mankind: and they are as notorious for their licentiousness and wickedness, as for their superstition and idolatry. As they therefore refused to take warning by the two former woes, the third woe, as we shall see, will fall with vengeance upon them.

C H A P. X.

1 AND I saw another mighty angel come down from heaven, cloth- ed with a cloud, and a rainbow ~~was~~ upon his head, and his face ~~was~~ as it were the sun,

sun, and his feet as pillars of fire.

2 And he had in his hand a little book open : and he set his right foot upon the sea, and his left foot on the earth.

3 And cried with a loud voice, as *when* a lion roareth : and when he had cried, seven thunders uttered their voices.

4 And when the seven thunders had uttered their voices, I was about to write : and I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Seal up those things which the seven thunders uttered, and write them not.

5 And the angel which I saw stand upon the sea, and upon the earth, lifted up his hand to heaven,

6 And sware by him that liveth for ever and ever, who created heaven and the things that therein are, and the earth, and the things that therein are, and the sea, and the things which are therein, that there should be time no longer :

7 But in the days of the

voice of the seventh angel, when he shall begin to sound, the mystery of God should be finished, as he hath declared to his servants the prophets.

8 And the voice which I heard from heaven spake unto me again, and said, Go, and take the little book which is open in the hand of the angel which standeth upon the sea, and upon the earth.

9 And I went unto the angel and said unto him, Give me the little book. And he said unto me, Take it, and eat it up ; and it shall make thy belly bitter, but it shall be in thy mouth as sweet as honey.

10 And I took the little book out of the angel's hand, and ate it up ; and it was in my mouth as sweet as honey ; and as soon as I had eaten it, my belly was bitter.

11 And he said unto me, Thou must prophecy again before many peoples, and nations, and tongues, and kings.

St John, in the conclusion of the last chapter, having touched upon the corruption of the western church, proceeds now to deliver some prophecies relating to this lamentable event. But before he enters upon the subject, he (and the church in him) is prepared for it by an august and consolatory vision. ' Another mighty angel came down from heaven,' ver. 1. described somewhat like the

angel—

angel in the three last chapters of Daniel, and in the first chapter of the Revelation, 'he had in his hand,' ver. 2. 'a little book,' βιβλακιδιον 'a little book,' or codicil different from the βιβλιον or book mentioned before; and it was open, that all men might freely read and consider it. It was indeed a codicil to the larger book, and properly cometh under the sixth trumpet, to describe the state of the western: and this is with good reason made a separate and distinct prophecy; on account of the importance of the matter, as well as for engaging the greater attention. 'He set his right foot upon the sea, and his left foot on the earth,' to shew the extent of his power and commission: 'and when he had cried aloud,' ver. 3. 'seven thunders uttered their voices,' St John would have written down, ver. 4. 'those things which the seven thunders uttered,' but was forbidden to do it. As we know not the subjects of 'the seven thunders,' so neither can we know the reasons for suppressing them: but it may be conceived, that something may be proper to be revealed to the apostle, and yet not to be communicated to the church. By these 'seven thunders,' * Vitringa understands the seven great croisades or expeditions of the western Christians for the conquest of the holy land, and Daubuz the seven kingdoms which received and established the protestant reformation by law. But doth it not favour rather of vanity and presumption than of wisdom and knowledge, to pretend to conjecture what they are, when the Holy Spirit hath purposely concealed them? Then the angel, ver. 5, 6, 7. 'lifted up his hand to heaven,' like the angel in Daniel, xii. 7. 'and sware by him that liveth for ever and ever,' the great Creator of all things, ὅτι χρόνος οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι, 'that the time shall not be yet,' but it shall be in the days of the seventh trumpet, that 'the mystery of God shall be finished,' and the glorious state of his church be perfected, agreeable to the good things which he hath promised, ὡς ἐπηγγέλισα, 'to his servants the prophets,' This is said for the consolation of Christians, that though 'the little book,' describes the calamities of the western church, yet they shall all have a happy period under the seventh trumpet. St John is then ordered, ver. 8, 9, 10.

* Vitringa in locum. p. 431. Daubuz. p. 469.

‘to eat the little book,’ as Ezekiel iii. 3. did upon a like occasion : and he ‘ate it up ;’ he thoroughly considered and digested it ; and found it to be, as he was informed it would be, ‘sweet as honey in his mouth, but bitter in his stomach.’ The knowledge of future things at first was pleasant, but the sad contents of the little book afterwards filled his soul with sorrow. But these contents were not to be ‘sealed up’ like those of ‘the seven thunders ;’ this ‘little book’ was to be published, ver. 11. as well as the larger book of the Apocalyps ; it was a kind of *second* prophecy, added to the former ; and as it concerned ‘kings and nations,’ so it was to be made public for their use and information. But if here, as some contend, the prophecy begins again anew, the subject is resumed from the beginning, and all that follows is contained in ‘the little book,’ then ‘the little book,’ contains more matter than ‘the larger book,’ and part of the *sealed* book is made part of the *open* book’ which is contrary to the regularity and order of the Apocalyps, and in great measure destroys the beauty and symmetry of the different parts ; for it is evident and undeniable, that the seventh trumpet is the seventh part of the seventh seal, as the seventh seal is the seventh part of the sealed book, and consequently can be no part of the little open book, which endeth, as we shall see, with the sixth trumpet, and immediately before the founding of the seventh.

CHAP. XI.

1 **AND** there was given me a reed like unto a rod : and the angel stood laying, Rise, and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein.

2 But the court which is without the temple, leave out, and measure it not ; for it is given unto the Gentiles : and the holy city shall they tread under foot forty and two months.

3 and I will give power unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophecy a thousand two hundred and threescore days clothed in sackcloth.

4 These are two olive-trees, and the two candlesticks standing before the God of the earth.

5 And if any man will hurt them, fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies ; and

if any man will hurt them, he must in this manner be killed.

6 These have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of their prophecy: and have power over waters to turn them to blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues as often as they will.

7 And when they shall have finished their testimony, the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit, shall make war against them, and shall overcome them, and kill them.

8 And their dead bodies shall lie in the street of the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified.

9 And they of the people, and kindreds, and tongues, and nations, shall see their dead bodies three days and a half, and shall not suffer their dead bodies to be put in graves.

10 And they that dwell

upon the earth shall rejoice over them, and make merrry, and shall send gifts one to another; because these two prophets tormented them that dwelt on the earth.

11 And after three days and an half, the spirit of life from God entered into them: and they stood upon their feet, and great fear fell upon them which saw them.

12 And they heard a great voice from heaven, saying unto them, Come up hither. And they ascended up to heaven in a cloud, and their enemies beheld them.

13 And the same hour was there a great earthquake, and the tenth part of the city fell, and in the earthquake were slain of men seven thousand, and the remnant were affrighted, and gave glory to the God of heaven.

14 The second woe is past, and behold, the third woe cometh quickly.

In the former part of this chapter, from the first verse to the fourteenth, are exhibited the contents of this little book. St John is commanded, ver. 1. to *measure* the inner court, 'the temple of God, and the altar, and them who worship therein', to shew, that during all this period there were some true Christians, who conformed to the rule and measure of God's word. This measuring might allude more particularly to the Reformation from Popery, which fell out under this sixth trumpet; and one of

the moral causes of it was the Othman's taking of Constantinople, whereupon the Greeks flying from their own country, and bringing their books with them into the more western parts of Europe, proved the happy occasion of the revival of learning; as the revival of learning opened mens eyes, and proved the happy occasion of the Reformation. But though 'the inner court,' which includes the smaller number, was *measured*, yet 'the outer court,' which implies the far greater part, was 'left out,' ver. 2. and rejected, as being in the possession of Christians only in name, but *Gentiles* in worship and practice, who profaned it with heathenish superstition and idolatry; and they shall tread under foot the holy city,' they shall trample upon, and tyrannize over the church of Christ, for the space of forty and two months.'

At the same time God should raise up some true and faithful witnesses, ver. 3. to preach and protest against these innovations and corruptions of religion: for there were protestants long before ever the name came into use. Of these witnesses there should be, though but a small, yet a competent number; and it was a sufficient reason for making them 'two witnesses,' because that is the number required by the law, and approved by the gospel, Deut. xix. 15. Matt. xviii. 16. 'In the mouth of two witnesses shall every word be established: and upon former occasions, two have often been joined in commission, as Moses and Aaron in Egypt, Elijah and Elisha in the apostasy of the ten tribes, and Zerubbabel and Joshua after the Babylonish captivity, to whom these witnesses are particularly compared. Our Saviour himself sent forth his disciples, Luke x. 1. 'two and two:' and it hath been observed also, that the principal reformers have usually appeared, as it were in pairs, as the Waldenses and Albigenses, John Huss and Jerome of Prague, Luther and Calvin, Cranmer and Ridley, and their followers. Not that I conceive, that any two particular men, or two particular churches, were intended by this prophecy; but only it was meant in the general, that there should be some in every age, though but a few in number, who should bear witness to the truth, and declare against the iniquity and idolatry of their times. They should not be discouraged even by persecution and oppression.

pression, but though 'clothed in sackcloth,' and living in a mourning and afflicted state, should yet *prophecy*, should yet preach the sincere word of God, and denounce the divine judgments against the reigning idolatry and wickedness: and this they should continue to do, as long as the grand corruption itself lasted, for the space of 'a thousand two hundred and threescore days.' It is the same space of time with 'the forty and two months' before mentioned. For 'forty and two months,' consisting each of thirty days, are equal to 'a thousand two hundred and threescore days, or years,' in the prophetic stile: and 'a thousand two hundred and threescore years,' as we have seen before in Daniel, and shall see hereafter in the Revelation, is the period assigned for the tyranny and idolatry of the church of Rome. The *witnesses* therefore cannot be any two men, or any two churches, but must be a succession of men, and a succession of churches.

A character is then given of these witnesses, and of the power and effect of their preaching. 'These are the two olive-trees, and the two candlesticks standing before the God of the earth,' ver. 4. that is, they are like Zerubbabel and Joshua, Zec. iv. the great instructors and enlighteners of the church. Fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies, ver. 4. that is, they are like unto Moses and Elijah, Num. xvi. 2 Kings i. who called for fire upon their adversaries. But their fire was real, this is symbolic, and 'proceedeth out of the mouth' of the witnesses, denouncing the divine vengeance on the corrupters and opposers of true religion; much in the same manner, as it was said to Jeremiah v. 14. 'I will make my words in thy mouth fire, and this people wood, and it shall devour them. These have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the day of the prophecy,' ver. 6. that is, they are like Elijah, who foretold a want of rain in the days of Ahab, 1 Kings xvii. 1. James v. 17. 'and it rained not on the earth for the space of three years and six months,' which, mystically understood, is the same space of time as 'the forty and two months,' and 'the thousand two hundred and threescore days,' which are allotted for the prophesying of the witnesses. During this time the divine grace, and protection, and blessing shall be withheld from those men, who neglect
and

and despise their preaching and doctrine. 'They have' also 'power over the waters to turn them to blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues, as often as they will,' that is, they are like Moses and Aaron, who inflicted these plagues on Egypt: and they may be said to 'smite the earth with the plagues which they denounce,' for in scripture language the prophets are often said to do those things, which they declare and foretel. But it is most highly probable, that these particulars will receive a more literal accomplishment, when the plagues of God, and the vials of his wrath, Chap. xvi. shall be poured out upon men, in consequence of their having so long resisted the testimony of the witnesses. Their cause and the cause of truth, will finally be avenged on all their enemies.

Next, after this description of the power and office of the witnesses, follows a prediction of those things, which shall befall them at the latter end of their ministry: and their passion, and death, and resurrection, and ascension are copied from our Saviour's, who is emphatically styled iii. 14. 'the faithful and true witness;' but with this difference, that his were real, theirs are figurative and mystical. 'And when they shall have finished, *οταν τελιωσι*, when they shall be about finishing their testimony,' ver. 7. 'the beast that ascendeth out of the abyss, the tyrannical power of Rome, of which we shall hear more hereafter, shall make war against them, and shall overcome them, and kill them.' 'The beast' indeed 'shall make war against them' all the time that they are performing their ministry; but 'when they shall be near finishing it, *be* shall *so* make war against them 'as to overcome them, and kill them.' They shall be subdued and suppressed, be degraded from all power and authority, be deprived of all offices and functions, and be politically dead, if not naturally so. In this low and abject state they shall lie some time, ver. 8. 'in the street of the great city,' in some conspicuous place within the jurisdiction of * Rome, 'which
spiritually

* Mr Mann, the late learned Master of the Charter-house, in some Manuscript notes upon Viringa's book on the Revelation, communicated to me by my friend Dr Jortin, hath the following to prove that not Jerusalem, but Rome was intended in this place. Rev. xi. 8. *The great city which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where their Lord was crucified.* 1.st Jerusalem in ver. 2. of this

spiritually is called Sodom' for corruption of manners, 'and Egypt' for tyranny and oppression of the people of God; 'where also our Lord was crucified' spiritually, being crucified afresh in the sufferings of his faithful martyrs. Nay, to shew the greater indignity and cruelty to the martyrs 'their dead bodies' shall not only be publicly exposed, ver. 9. but they shall be denied even the common privilege of burial, which is the case of many protestants in popish countries: and their enemies 'shall rejoice' and insult 'over them,' ver. 10. 'and shall send' mutual presents and congratulations 'one to another,' for their deliverance from these tormentors, whose life and doctrine were a continual reproach to them. But 'after three days and a half,' ver. 11. that this in the prophetic stile 'after three years and a half,' for no less time is requisite for all these transactions, they shall be raised again by 'the spirit of God,' and ver. 12. shall 'ascend up to heaven;' they shall not only be restored to their pristine state, but shall be

"very chapter is called the holy city: can it be in so few periods intended under the names of Sodom and Egypt?

2. "The holy city or Jerusalem, ver. 2. was to be wasted and trod under foot by the Gentiles for 42 months: the two witnesses were to prophecy the same space of time: how then should their carcases lie in the streets of Jerusalem so wasted?

3. "Jerusalem in this book is four times called the Holy city, never the Great (unless it be here meant). The great city is twelve times repeated only of Babylon, i. e. Rome: is it probable it should be here used of Jerusalem?

4. "In ver. 13. at the revival of the two witnesses after lying dead three days and a half, the tenth part of the city fell: but in ver. 2. Jerusalem is already wasted, and not supposed to be rebuilt; and therefore incapable of being so damaged.

5. "And were Jerusalem rebuilt, the enemies of Christ out of all people, tongues, and nations, ver. 9. would assemble there or the beast expose the slain witnesses but in his own capital,

1. "Object. There are two characteristics assigned, which fit Jerusalem only, That it is 'spiritually or figuratively called Sodom and Egypt; as Jerusalem is compared to Sodom, Isa. i. 10. and iii. 9. (of Egypt no instance.)

1. "Answ. That Capernaum, Mat. xi. 23, 24. is likewise compared to Sodom by Christ; and so is any city that shall reject the gospel, Matt. x. 15. Whence Tertullian (adv. Jud. c. 9.) observes of this very name. Nec hoc novum Scripturis divinis si Rome uti translatione nominum, ex comparatione criminum. So gurate might be called Sodom for lewdness, and Egypt for the oppression of God's people.

"Object. The second characteristic, where also our Lord was crucified,

be farther promoted to dignity and honour; and that by 'a great voice from heaven,' by the voice of public authority. 'At the same hour there shall be a great earthquake, there shall be great commotions in the world; and the tenth part of the city shall fall,' as an omen and earnest of a still greater fall; 'and seven thousand names of men,' or seven thousand men of name, 'shall be slain;' and the remainder in their fright and fear shall acknowledge the great power of God.

Some interpreters are of opinion, that this prophecy of 'the death and resurrection of the witnesses' received its completion * in the case of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, who were *two faithful witnesses* and martyrs of the blessed Jesus. It is very well known, that they were condemned to death, and afterwards burnt for heresy by the council of Constance. Which council sitting about 'three years and a half,' from November, 1414, to April 1418, their *bodies* may that time be said to have lain 'unburied in the street of the great city, in Constance where was the greatest assembly not only of bishops and cardinals, but likewise of of ambassadors, barons, counts, dukes, princes, and the emperor himself. But after the council was dissolved, these two preachers were restored as it were to life in their disciples and followers, who propagated the same doctrines, maintained them by force of arms as well as by preaching, and even vanquished the Imperialists

"crucified, determines the place to Jerusalem beyond all possibility of doubting.

2. "Answ. Mill's says, The text should be read; 'ὅπου ὁ Κύριος ἀνέβη ἑσταυρωθῆναι, where the Lord was crucified, or had been crucified; yet indeed without making any great difference to the literal sense. But why may not this expression be used figuratively as well as the preceding? why may not the Lord of the two witnesses be spiritually crucified where they are spiritually slain? St Paul to the Galatians uses this expression figuratively 3 or 4 times: the Epist. to the Heb. vi. 6 uses it figuratively, and perhaps in the very sense it may bear here. Though it is capable too of another, which is authorized by Christ himself, for Mat. x. and xxv. and Acts ix. 4, 5. he declares himself to suffer what is done to his followers. In that Great city therefore, which was drunk with the blood of the saints and the martyrs of Jesus, Chap. xvii. 6. Jesus himself might be said to be crucified."

* Fox et Vvring. p. 587, &c. Vide etiam Fred. Spanhemii Hist. Christ. Sæc. XV. Cap. 6, 7. Histoire du Concile de Constance par Jaques Lenfant. Voltair's General History and State of Europe, Part 2. and Annals of the empire, vol. 2.

Imperialists in several battles. It was truly said to them 'Come us hither,' when they were invited to the council of Basil with a promise of redress of grievances; but the council having dealt fraudulently with them, they broke out again into open rebellion, 'and the tenth part of the city fell,' the kingdom of Bohemia revolted, and fell alike from its obedience to the pope and emperor.

Others refer this prophecy to * the protestants of the league of Smalcald, who were entirely routed by the emperor Charles V. in the battle of Mulburgh on the 24th of April 1547; when the two great champions of the protestants, John Frederic, elector of Saxony, was taken prisoner, and the Landgrave of Hesse was forced to surrender himself, and to beg pardon of the emperor. Protestantism was then in a manner suppressed, and the mass restored. The witnesses were *dead*, but *not buried*; and the papists 'rejoiced over them, and made merry, and sent gifts one to another.' But this joy and triumph of theirs were of no very long continuance; for in the space of about 'three years and a half,' the protestants were *raised again* at Magdeburg, and defeated and took the duke of Mecklenburg prisoner in December 1550. From that time their affairs changed for the better almost every day; success attended their arms and counsels; and the emperor was obliged by the treaty of Passau to allow them the free exercise of their religion, and to re-admit them in the imperial chamber, from which they had ever since the victory of Malburgh been excluded. Here was indeed 'a great earthquake,' a great commotion, in which many 'thousands were slain; and the tenth part of the city fell,' a great part of the German empire renounced the authority, and abandoned the communion of the church of Rome.

Some again may think this prophecy very applicable to † the horrid massacre of the protestants at Paris, and in other cities of France, begun on the memorable eve of St Bartholomew's day 1572. According to the best authors, there were slain thirty or forty thousand hugonots

* Brightman and Vitring. p. 491, &c. See also Sleidan's Hist. of the Reformation, B. 19, &c. Voltair's Annals of the Empire, vol. 2.

† Vitring. p. 496. &c. Thuani Hist. Lib. 52, 53, et 62. Davila Hist. B. 5 et 6. Mazaray, Charles IX and Henry III.

nots in a few days; and among them without doubt many true witnesses and faithful martyrs of Jesus Christ. 'Their dead bodies lay in the street of the great city,' one of the greatest cities of Europe; for they were not suffered to be buried, being the bodies of heretics; but were dragged through the street, or thrown into the river, or hung upon gibbets, and exposed to public infamy. Great *rejoicings* too were made in the courts of France, Rome, and Spain; they went in procession to the churches, they returned public thanks to God, they sung *Te Deums*, they celebrated jubilees, they struck medals; and it was enacted, that St Bartholomew's day should ever afterwards be kept with double pomp and solemnity. But neither was this joy of long continuance; for in little more than 'three years and a half,' Henry III. who succeeded his brother Charles, entered into a treaty with the hugonots, which was concluded and published on the 14th of May 1576, whereby all the former sentences against them were reversed, and the free and open exercise of their religion was granted to them; they were to be admitted to all honours, dignities, and offices, as well as the papists; and the judges were to be half of the one religion, and half of the other; with other articles greatly to their advantage, which were in a manner the *resurrection* of the witnesses, and their 'ascension into heaven.' The 'great earthquake' and the 'falling of the tenth part of the city,' and the 'slaying of thousands of men,' according to this hypothesis, must be referred to the great commotions and civil wars, which for several years afterwards cruelly disturbed, and almost destroyed the kingdom of France.

Others again have recourse to later events, and the latter indeed the better and fitter for the purpose. Peter Jurieu a famous divine of the French church at Rotterdam, * imagined that the persecution then carried on by Lewis XIV. against the protestants of France, after the revocation of the edict of Nantes in October 1685, would be the last persecution of the church; that during this time the witnesses would lie dead, but should recover and revive within a few years, and the Reformation should be

* Jurieu's Accomplishment of the Prophecies. Part. 2. Chap. 12, and 13.

be established in that kingdom by royal authority; the whole country should renounce popery, and embrace the protestant religion. Bishop Lloyd and after him Mr Whiston * apply this prophecy to the poor protestants in the vallies of Piedmont, who by a cruel edict of their sovereign the Duke of Savoy, instigated by the French king, were imprisoned and murdered, or banished and totally dissipated at the latter end of the year 1686. They were kindly received and succoured by the protestant states; and after while secretly entering Savoy with their swords in their hands, they regained their ancient possessions with great slaughter of their enemies; and the Duke himself, having then left the French interest, granted them a full pardon; and re-established them, by another edict signed June 4, 1690, just 'three years and an half' after their total dissipation. Bishop Lloyd not only understood the prophecy in this manner, but what is very remarkable, made the application even before the event took place, as Mr Whiston relates, and upon this ground encouraged a refugee minister, of the Vaudois, whose name was Jordan, to return home, and returning he heard the joyful news of the deliverance and restitution of his country. These were indeed most barbarous persecutions of the protestants both in France and Savoy: and at the same time popery here in England was advanced to the throne, and threatened an utter subversion of our religion and liberties, but in little more than 'three years and an half' a happy deliverance was wrought by the glorious Revolution.

In all these cases there may be some resemblance to the prophecy before us, of the death and resurrection of the witnesses; and it may please an over-ruling providence so to dispose and order events, that the calamities and afflictions of the church may in some measure run parallel one to another, and all the former efforts of that tyrannical and persecuting power called 'the beast,' may be the types and figures as it were of this his last and greatest effort against the witnesses. But though these instances sufficiently answer in some respects, yet they are deficient in others, and particularly in this, that they are none of them the last persecution; others have been since, and in

all probability will be again. Besides as 'the two witnesses' are designed to be the representatives of the protestants in general, so the persecution must be general too, and not confined to this or that particular church or nation. We are now living under the 'sixth trumpet;' and the empire of the 'Euphratean horsemen, or Othmans is still subsisting, and perhaps in as large extent as ever: 'the beast' is still reigning; 'the witnesses are still,' in some times and places more, in some less, 'prophesying in sackcloth.' It will not be till toward 'the end of their testimony,' and that end seemeth to be yet at some distance, that the great victory and triumph of the *beast*, and the suppression, and resurrection, and exaltation of 'the witnesses' will take effect. When all these things shall be accomplished, then 'the sixth trumpet' will end, then the second woe shall be *past*, ver. 14. the Othman empire shall be broken in the same manner that Ezekiel, xxxviii. xxxix. and Daniel, xi. 44, 45. have predicted: the sufferings of 'the witnesses' shall cease and they shall be raised and exalted above their enemies: and when 'the second woe' shall be thus 'past, behold the third woe,' or the total destruction of the *beast*, 'cometh quickly.' Some time intervened between 'the first' and 'the second woes;' but upon the ceasing of 'the second, the third' shall commence immediately.

It appears then that the greater part of this prophecy relating to 'the witnesses' remains yet to be fulfilled; but possibly some may question, whether any part of it hath been fulfilled; whether there have been any such persons as 'the witnesses,' any true and faithful servants of Jesus Christ, who have in every age professed doctrines contrary to those maintained by the pope and church of Rome. The truth of the fact will best appear by an historical deduction; and if it can be proved, that there have constantly been such *witnesses* from the seventh century down to the Reformation, during the most flourishing period of popery, I presume there can be little doubt about the times preceding or following. As there hath been occasion to observe before, the seeds of popery were sown even in the apostles time, but they were not grown up to maturity, the power of the pope as a *horn* or temporal prince, was not established till the eighth century: and

from thence therefore it will be proper to begin our deduction, when the beast began to reign, and the witness to 'prophecy in sackcloth.'

Great as the power of the Latin church was grown in the eighth century, the Greek church still dissented from it, and opposed it. The emperors * Leo Isauricus and his son Constantine Copronymus not only vigorously opposed the worship of images, but also denied the intercession of saints, and burnt and destroyed their relics. In the year 754 Constantine Copronymus held a general council at Constantinople of 338 bishops, who prohibited unanimously the worship of saints as well as of images; and † declared that "only one image was constituted by Christ himself, namely the bread and wine in the eucharist; which represent the body and blood of Christ;" than which there cannot be a stronger declaration against the doctrine of transubstantiation as well as against the worship of images. It is true that the second council of Nice in the year 787 restored and established the worship of images, and the pope ratified and confirmed it: but nevertheless great opposition was made to it by several churches in the west. Charlemain * held a council at Francfort in the year 794, consisting of 300 bishops of various nations, who condemned equally the second council of Nice and the worship of images. The Caroline books were also set forth under the name and authority of that great monarch; and the doctrines therein contained, of the sufficiency of the scriptures, of the worship of God alone, of prayers in the vulgar tongue, of the eucharist, of justification, of repentance, of pretended visions and miracles, and various other points, are such as a papist would abhor, and a protestant would sub-

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scribe.

* Theoph. Creden. Zonar. &c. &c. Fred. Spanhemii Hist. Christ. Sæc. VIII. Cap. 6, 7, &c.

† Aliis explosis imaginibus, (verba sunt Bellarmini Tom. 1. p. 535.) unicum definiuerunt esse imaginem ab ipso Christo institutam, nimirum panem et vinum in Eucharistia, que representant Christi corpus et sanguinem. Ex concil. Constant. Tom. 3. p. 359. Edit. Binnii. Usserius de Christian. Eccles. successionē et statu. Cap. 2. Sect. 4. p. 19.

‡ Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 6 et 9. Usser. ibid. p. 25. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient churches of the Albigenes, Cap. 8.

scribe. Not to seek for farther instances, the * British churches lamented and execrated the second council of Nice; and the famous Albin or Alcuin wrote a letter against it, disproving and refuting it by express authorities of holy scripture; which letter was transmitted to Charles the Great in the name of the bishops and other great men of the kingdom. Even in Italy † the council of Farofulio prescribed the use of no other creed but that of the apostles, so that they had no conception of the necessity of so many additional articles, as have since been made by pope Pius IV, and received by the church. Some even of the Italian bishops assisted at the council of Francfort before mentioned, and particularly Paulinus bishop of Aquileia bore a principal part in it.

Popery prevailed still more in the ninth century, but yet not without considerable opposition. Not only ‡ the emperors of the east, Nicephorus, Leo Armenius, Michael Balbus, Theophilus, and the emperors of the west, Charles the Great, and Lewis the Pious, but also several prelates and ecclesiastics, opposed the absolute power and supremacy of the pope, together with the worship of images, and invocation of saints and angels. The capitularies and edicts of Charles the Great and Lewis the Pious, § injoining the reading of the canonical scripture as the sole rule of faith, without any regard to human traditions or apocryphal writings. Private masses and pilgrimages, and other such superstitions ¶ were forbidden by the same capitularies. Lewis the Pious held a council at Paris in the year 824; which ¶ agreed with the council of Francfort in rejecting the second council of Nice, and forbidding the worship of images. Agobard, archbishop of Lyons,

* Hoveden, Annal. pars prior. p. 212. Simeon Dunelm. H. st. p. 111. Matt. Westm. Flores. Hist. Ann. p. 793. Uffer. ibid. p. 19, 20. Collier's Eccles. Hist. Book 2. p. 119.

† Tom. 7. Concil. p. 1002. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient churches of Piedmont. Cap. 8. Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 9, 10.

‡ Fred. Spanhemli Hist. Christian. Saec. IX. Cap. 9. Miscell. Sacrae Antiq. Lib. 6. Hist. Imag. 7, 8, 9.

§ Capit. Aquisgranens Spanhem. Hist. Christian. Saec. IX. Cap. 3. Sect. 2. Cap. 9. Sect. 2.

¶ Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 9. Sect. 5, 8, &c.

¶ Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 9. Sect. 3. Cap. 12. Sect. 2. Hist. Imag. Sect. 9. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient churches of the Albigenica, Chap. 9.

Lyons, in his book against pictures and images, maintains, that we ought not to adore any image of God, but only that which is God himself, even his eternal Son; and that there is no other Mediator between God and men, save Jesus Christ God and man: so that it is no wonder that this book is condemned in the Index Expurgatorius of the church of Rome. It was in this century, that the doctrine of transubstantiation was first advanced here in the west by Paschasius Radbertus abbot of Corbie in France; but it was strenuously opposed by Rabanus Maurus, Bertramus, Johannes Scotus, and many other bishops and learned men of that age. Rabanus Maurus, archbishop of Mentz, * passes this censure upon the novelty of the doctrine; "Some, says he, of late not rightly conceiving concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord, have affirmed that this is the very same body of our Lord, which was born of the virgin Mary, and in which our Lord himself suffered, &c. which error we have opposed to the utmost of our power, &c." He thus † expresses his own sentiments; "Our Lord would have the sacrament of his body and blood be taken and eaten by the faithful, that by a visible work an invisible effect might appear. For as the material food outwardly nourishes and refreshes the body, so also the word of God inwardly nourishes and strengthens the soul." Again: "the sacrament is reduced into the nourishment of the body, but by the virtue of the sacrament eternal life is obtained." Bertramus, or Ratramus as he is otherwise called, a monk of Corbie, wrote a book of the *body and blood of our Lord*, which he inscribed to the em-

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peror

* Quidam nuper de ipso sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini non recte sentientes, discernunt hoc ipsum corpus Domini quod de Maria virgine natum est, et in quo ipse Dominus passus est, &c. cui errori quantum posuimus, &c. Lib. Penitent. Cap. 33. Spanhem. Hist. Christian. Sæc. IX. Cap. 10. Sect. 4.

† Maluit Dominus corporis et sanguinis sui sacramenta fidelium ore percipi, et in partem (al. partem) eorum redigi, ut per visibile opus invisibilis ostendere effectus, Sicut enim cibus materialis forinsecus nutrit et corpus et vegetat, ita etiam verbum Dei intus animam nutrit et roborat. Sacramentum, in alimentum corporis redigitur virtute autem sacramenti æterna vita adipiscitur, Institut. Cleric. Lib. 1. Cap. 31. et de Universo Lib. 5. Cap. 11. Usser. de Christian. Eccles. successionem et statu. Cap. 2. Sect. 16.

neror, Charles the bald. The emperor * had enquired of him, " whether the same body, which was born of Mary, and suffered, and was dead and buried, and which sitteth at the right hand of the Father, is what is daily taken in the mouth of the faithful by the mystery of the sacrament in the church." and Bertram answers, that the difference between them is " as great as between the pledge, and the thing for which the pledge is delivered; it is as great as between the image, and the thing whose image it is; as great as between the representation, and the reality." He says † in several places, that the bread and wine are figuratively the body of Christ, spiritually not corporally, in figure, in image, in mystery, not in truth, or real existence, or presence of the substance." Johannes Scotus, the famous Irishman, for the Irish were the Scots of those times, † wrote also a book of the eucharist by the command of Charles the bald: and therein he asserted, that " the sacrament of the altar is not the true body, nor true blood of our Lord, but only the memorial of the true body and of the true blood." He was after this invited into England by king Alfred, was preferred by him, and honoured with the title of martyr after his death; which is at least a strong presumption, that the church of England had not at that time received the doctrine of transubstantiation. In Italy itself ‡ Angilbertus, archbishop of Milan, would not acknowledge the supremacy of the pope, nor did the church of Milan submit

to

* *Ubi quaerenti imperatori utrum ipsum corpus quod de Maria natum est et passum mortuum et sepultum, quodque ad dexteram Patris confidet, sit quod ore fidelium per sacramentorum mysterium in ecclesia quotidie sumitur; respondet Bertramus discrimen inter utrumque esse tantum quantum est inter pignus, et eam rem pro qua pignus traditur; quantum inter imaginem, et rem cuius est imago; et quantum inter speciem et veritatem.* Uffer. *ibid.* Sect. 17.

† *Ibi fuse Bertramus, Panem vinumque figurate corpus Christi existere; spiritus aliter, non corporaliter; in figura in imagine, in mysterio; non in veritate, sua reali existentia, vel praesentia substantia, &c.* Spanhem *ibid.*

‡ *Sacramentum altaris non esse verum corpus, nec verum sanguinem Domini, sed solummodo memoriale veri corporis et veri sanguinis.* Spanhem. *ibid.* Uffer. *ibid.* Sect. 19. Dupin IX. Siecle Chap. 7. Cave. *Hist. Litt. Ann.* 858. p. 45. Vol. 2. Collier's *Eccl. Hist.* *Hist. Book* 3. p. 165.

§ *Sigon. de Regn. Ital. Lib. 5. Ann. 8. 4.* Spanhem. *ibid.* Cap. 9. Sect.

to the see of Rome two hundred years afterwards. But no one was more willing, as indeed no one of that age was more able to stem the torrent of superstition than Claud bishop of Turin, in his numerous writings and comments upon scripture. He * asserted the equality of all the apostles with St Peter, and maintained that Jesus Christ was the only head of the church. He overthrew the doctrine of merit and all pretences to works of supererogation. He rejected traditions in matters of religion, held the church to be subject to error, and denied the use of prayers for the dead. He proposed the doctrine of the eucharist in a manner totally different from Paschasius Radbertus, and entirely conformable to the sense of the ancient church. He opposed with all his might the worship of saints, of relics, of images, together with pilgrimages, penances, and other superstitions of the like kind. He may in a manner be said to have sown the seeds of the Reformation in his diocese of Turin; and his doctrines took such deep root especially in the vallies of Piedmont, that they continued to flourish there for some centuries, as the papists themselves acknowledge.

The *tenth* century even the writers of the Romish communion lament and describe as the most debauched and wicked, the most illiterate and ignorant age since the coming of Christ. Genebrard † says "This is called the unhappy age, being destitute of men famous for wit and learning, as also of famous princes and popes; in which scarce any thing was done worthy of the memory of posterity." He subjoins, "But chiefly unhappy is this one thing, that for almost 150 years about 50 popes totally degenerated from the virtue of their ancestors, being more like apostates than apostles." Baronius himself † denomi-
nates

* See these points proved by quotations and extracts from his works in Dr Allix his Remarks upon the ancient churches of Piedmont. Chap. 9. See also Spanhem, Dupin, Cave, &c.

† Infelix dicitur hoc sæculum, exhaustum omnibus ingenio et doctrina claris, sœciani claris principibus; et pontificibus; in quo nihil fere dignum memoria posteritatis gestum sit—Hoc vero uno infelix quod per annos fere 150 pontifices circiter 50 a virtute majorum prorsus defecerint, Apotactici Apostatice potius quam Apostolici, Genebrard. Chron. Lib. 4. In initio X. Sæc. Usser. de Christian. Eccles. successionem et statu. Cap. 2. sect. 34. Spanhemii Hist. Christian. Sæc. X. Cap. 3. Sect. 1.

† En novum iachtoatur sæculum, quod sui asperitate ac boni sterilitate

nates it an *iron*, a *lead*, and *obscure* age: and declares that "Christ was then, as it appears, in a very deep sleep, when the ship was covered with waves: and what seemed worse, when the Lord was thus asleep, there were wanting disciples who by their cries might awaken him, being themselves all fast asleep." It is not to be wondered, that in so long and dark a night as this, while all were asleep, the subtle enemy should sow his tares in great abundance. However, there were some few like 'lights shining in a dark place,' who remonstrated against the degeneracy and superstition of the times. The resolutions and decrees of the councils of Francfort and Paris against the worship of images † had still some force and influence in Germany, in France, in England, and other countries. In the former part of this century, in the year 909, a council † was held at Troisy, a village near Soissons in France; and having made several wise and good regulations, they concluded with a profession of the things, which Christians ought to believe and practise: and in that profession are none of those things which constitute the sum of popish doctrine, nothing of the pope's being head of the church, nothing of the daily sacrifice of the mass, or of purgatory, or of the worship of creatures, or of commentitious sacraments, or of confession to the priest, but of pure and sincere confession to God: so much did this council differ from the spirit and principles of the council of Trent. Many churches * still retained the use of the scriptures in the vulgar tongue: and in England particularly Athelstan caused them to be translated into the Anglo-Saxon idiom. Great opposition ‖ was also made in several countries to the celibacy of the clergy; and several councils were held upon the controversy between

sterilitate ferrum, malique exundantis deformitate plumbeum, atque inopia scriptorum appellari consuevit obscurum. Baron. ad ann. 900. Dormiebat tunc plane alto (ut apparet) sopore Christus, cum navis fluctibus operiretur: Et quod deterius videbatur, deerant qui Dominum sic dormientem clamoribus excitarent discipuli, stercentibus omnibus. *ibid.* ad ann. 912. Uffer. *ibid.* Spanhem. *ibid.*

* Spanhem. *ibid.* Cap. 6. sect. 8. Hist. Imag. sect. 9.

† Tom. 3. Concil. Galliz. Spanhem. *ibid.* Cap. 5. Sect. 3. Dup'n. X. Sieclé. Cap. 3.

‡ Spanhem. *ibid.* Cap. 6. Sect. 2. et 10. Scripturas divinas verti fecit in Anglo-Saxonicum idioma. - Willh. Malmes. et Belæus.

§ Spanhem. *ibid.* Sect. 5. Speitmanni Concil. Brit. Vol. 1. Gollier's Eccles. Hist. B. 3. p. 199.

between the monks and the secular clergy, and particularly in England, where Eilbert earl of Mercia expelled the monks out of the monasteries in that province, and introduced the clergy with their wives. Many too even in this age denied the doctrine of transubstantiation. Heriger abbot of Lobes near Liege * wrote expressly against it; as did also † Alfric in England, whose homily for Easter used to be read publicly in the churches. His principal aim therein ‡ is to prove, "that we spiritually taste the body of Christ, and drink his blood, when with true faith we partake of that holy sacrament; the bread and wine cannot by any benediction be changed into the body and blood of Christ, they are indeed the body and blood of Christ, yet not corporally, but spiritually;" with much more to the same purpose. He wrote also two epistles, the one addressed to Wulfin bishop of Shireburn, and the other to Wulfstan archbishop of York, wherein he asserts the same doctrine. In the former he thus § explains the doctrine of the sacrament; "The host is the body of Christ, not corporally, but spiritually. Not the body in which he suffered; but the body of which he spake, when he consecrated the bread and wine the night preceding his passion, and said of the consecrated bread, This is my body, and again of the consecrated wine, This is my blood, which is shed for many for the remission of sins." In the latter he hath these § memorable words, which some papists of more zeal than

* Singebert de Ecclesiast. Script. Cap. 138. Usser. ibid. Sect. 20. Spanhem, ibid. Cap. 7. Sect. 3. Dupin. ibid. Cap. 4.

† Usser. ibid. Sect. 20, 21. Spanhem. ibid. Sect. 3. Dupin. ibid. Cap. 7. Cave, Hist. Litt. Vol. 2. p. 108, &c. Collier's Ecclesiast. Hist. B. 3. p. 204, &c.

‡—id pene unice agit, "ut ostendat nos spiritualiter corpus Christi gustare ejusque sanguinem bibere, cum vera fide sacram illam gustamus eucharistiam; panem et vinum non posse per ullam benedictionem in Christi corpus et sanguinem mutari: "vere quidem Christi corpus et sanguinem esse, non tamen corporaliter, sed spiritualiter; &c." Cave. ibid. p. 110.

§ Hostia illa est Christi corpus non corporaliter sed spiritualiter. Non corpus in quo passus est: sed corpus de quo locutus est, quando panem et vinum, ea quæ passionem antecessit nocte, in hostiam consecravit: et de sacro pane dixit, Hoc est corpus meum; rursumquæ de sacro vino, Hic est sanguis meus, qui pro multis effunditur in remissionem peccatorum. Apud Usser. ibid. Sect. 21. Non sit tamen hoc sacrificium corpus ejus in quo passus est pro nobis, neque sanguis ejus quem pro nobis effudit, spiritualiter cor-

than knowledge attempted to erase out of the manuscript copy. "Yet this sacrifice is not made his body in which he suffered for us, nor his blood which he poured out for us, but it is spiritually made his body and blood: as the manna which rained from heaven, and the water which flowed from the rock, as Paul the apostle saith." The synods and councils, which were held in this age by the authority of kings and bishops, shew evidently that the power of the pope had not yet extended over all. Nay there were kings and bishops who opposed the supremacy of the pope; and none more than * the council of Rheims in the year 991, and Gerbert archbishop of Rheims, who declared, "that if the pope did amiss, he was liable to the censures of the church:" and speaking of the pope then reigning John XV, "What," says he, "do you conceive this man, sitting on a lofty throne, glittering in purple clothing and in gold, what, I say, do you conceive him to be? If he is destitute of charity, and is puffed up by knowledge alone, he is Antichrist sitting in the temple of God, and shewing himself that he is God." He was afterwards himself chosen pope under the name of Sylvester II. and possibly the change of his situation might produce a change in his sentiments.

Much of the same complexion with the tenth was the *eleventh* century, equally sunk in profligacy, superstition, and ignorance, but yet not without some superior spirits to bear testimony against it. The papal power was in this century carried beyond all bounds by the ambition and arrogance of the reigning popes, and particularly by the violence and haughtiness of Gregory VII, whose former name was Hildebrand, or *Hell Brand*, as he hath often been denominated. But yet there were emperors and councils, who strenuously opposed the pretensions and

pus ejus efficitur et sanguis sicut manna quod de caelo pluit, et aqua quae de petra fluxit, sicut Pallus apostolus ait. Apud Usser. *ibid.* et Cave *ibid.*

* Spanhem. ex Baronio add ann. 991. Num. 10. &c. et ex Epist. Gerberti. Si peccaverit, subesse judicio ecclesiae.—Quod hunc, reverendi patres, in sublimi solio residentem, veste purpurea et auro radiantem, quid hunc, inquam, esse censetis? Nimirum si charitate destituitur, solaque scientia inflatur et extollitur, Antichristus est in templo Dei sedens, et se ostendens tanquam sit Deus. Cap. 6. Sect. 3. *Uss.* Dupin. *ibid.* Chap. 5. See also Allix's *Remarks upon the ancient churches of the Albigenes.* Chap. 10.

and usurpations of the See of Rome; and these contests and struggles between the popes and emperors about the right of investitures and other articles make a principal part of the History of this age. Our English kings, devoted as they were to the religion, yet would not entirely submit to the authority of the bishop of Rome; but contradicted it in several instances. When William I. was required by the pope to pay him homage, he made * answer, "To pay homage I have been unwilling, nor am I willing; for neither did I promise it, neither do I find that my predecessors paid it to your predecessors." His son William Rufus exerted somewhat of the same spirit, and † insisted that the pope, without his permission, had no manner of jurisdiction in England. Early in this century, there ‡ appeared at Orleans some heretics as they were called, who maintained that the consecration of the priest could not change the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, and that it was unprofitable to pray to saints and angels; and they were condemned by the council of Orleans in the year 1017. Not long after these || appeared other heretics of the same stamp in Flanders, who were also condemned by the synod of Arras in the year 1025. They came originally from Italy, where they had been the disciples of Gundulphus; and they are said to have admitted no scripture but the gospel and apostolical writings; to have denied the reality of the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist; to have attributed no religious worship to the holy confessors, none to the cross, none to images, nor to temples nor altar; and to have asserted, that there was no purgatory, and that penances after death could not absolve the deceased from their sins. Other tenets were ascribed to them, which were really heretical; and perhaps they might hold some errors, as well as some truth; or perhaps

* *Fidelitatem facere polui. nec volo; quia nec ego promisi, nec antecessores meos antecessoribus tuis id fecisse comperio.* Apud Baron. Ann. 1079, Sect. 25. Usser. de Christian. Eccles. successionem et statu. Cap. 7. Sect. 9.

† Eadmer. Hist. Lib. 2. Collier's Eccles. Hist. B. 4. p. 179.

‡ Dupin XI. Siecle. Chap. 13. Fred Spanhemii Hist. Christian. Sæc. XI. Chap. 10. Sect. 1.

|| Spanhem. ibid. Dupin. ibid. Allis's Remarks upon the ancient church of Piedmont. Chap. 11.

haps their adversaries, as it hath been their usual artifice, might lay things to their charge merely to blacken and defame them. Not long after this, [†] arose the famous Berengarius, a native of Tours, and archdeacon of Angers, who more professedly wrote against the doctrine of transubstantiation; and also [†] called "the church of Rome a church of malignants, the council of vanity, and the seat of Satan." It is true that he was compelled by the authority of popes and councils to renounce, abjure, and burn his writings. But his was all a forced, and not in the least a voluntary recantation. As often as he recanted, he relapsed again. He returned like a dog to his vomit, as a [†] contemporary popish writer expresseth it. He lived and died in the same sentiments. His heresy was from him called the Berengarian heresy; and his followers were so numerous, that as [†] old historians relate, he had corrupted almost all the French, Italians, and English with his depravities. When Gregory VII. had, both by letters and by a council held at Rome in the year 1074, strictly forbidden the marriage of the clergy, it raised ^{||} great commotions among the ecclesiastics in Germany; who not only complained of the pope for imposing this yoke, but likewise accused him of advancing a notion insupportable, and contrary to the words of our Saviour, who saith that all are not able to live in continence, and to the words of the apostle, who ordereth those who have not the gift of continence to marry. They added that this law, in forcing the ordinary course of nature, would be the cause of great disorders; that they would rather renounce the priesthood than marriage; and the pope should provide, if he could, angels

* Uffer. *ibid.* Cap. 7. Sect. 24, &c. Dupin. *ibid.* Cap. 1. Spanhem. *ibid.* Cap. 8, &c.

† Ecclesiam Romanam, ecclesiam malignantium, concilium vanitatis, et sedem Satanæ vocabat. Gulielm. Reginald. Calvino Turcism. Lib. 2. Cap. 5. Uffer *ibid.* Sect. 22.

‡ Qui licet eandem hæresin sæpissime in synodo abjuravit, ad vomitum tamen suum canino more non expavit redire. Bertoldus Constantiensis presbyter apud Uffer. *ibid.* Sect. 34.

|| Eodem tempore, Berengarius Turonensis, in hæreticam prolapsum pravitatem, omnes Gallos, Italos, et Anglos, suis jam pene corruperat pravitatibus. Mart. Westmonast. *est Hist. Rossen.* Anno 1087, Uffer. *ibid.* Sect. 27.

† Dupin. *ibid.* Cap. 5. Spanhem. *ibid.* Cap. 7. Sect. 4.

angels to govern the church, since he refused to be served by men. This was the language of these corrupt ecclesiastics, as * Dupin hath called them; but the decree of the pope was no less opposed in France, in Flanders, in Italy, and England, than in Germany. A council was held at Winchester in the year 1076, wherein it was † decreed indeed, that no canon should marry; but the priests in the country, who were already married, were allowed to cohabit with their wives; whereas the pope had enjoined all priests without distinction to put away their wives, or to forbear the exercise of their office. Whereupon Mr Collier hath made this just reflection: "From hence it appears that the papal supremacy had not reached its zenith in this century, and that the English bishops did not believe the patriarchal power arbitrary and unlimited, but that a national church had some reserves of liberty, and might dissent from the constitutions of the See of Rome upon occasion."

Europe hitherto was involved in the dark night of popery, with only some stars appearing here and there in the horizon; but in the *twelfth* century there began to be visible some streaks of the morning light, some dawns of a reformation. Here in England, during the reign of Henry II, the famous constitutions of Clarendon were sworn to and signed both by the clergy and the laity, in recognition of the rights of the crown, particularly forbidden all appeals to Rome without the king's licence, and appointing the trial of criminal clerks before secular judges: But the best account of this as well as of the other memorable transactions of this reign, the public expects with some impatience from one of the most masterly and elegant writers of the present age, a friend to religion and virtue, a friend to liberty and his country; and the public expectations have been since fully answered. Fludentius Bishop of Florence † taught publicly, that Antichrist was born, and come into the world: whereupon

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L

pope

* C'est ainsi que ces ecclesiastiques corrompus parlent. Dupin. *ibid.* p. 36.

† Collier's Ecclesiast. Hist. B. 4 p. 248, 249. Spelmanni Concil. Vol. 2.

‡ Platina in vita Paschal. II. Spanheimi. Hist. Christian. Sæc. XII. Chap. 5. sect. 2. Cave Hist. Lit. Sæc. XII. Concilia Vol. 2. p. 258. Calmet. Dict. in Antichrist.

pope Paschal II. was at Florence, and remained there in the year 1105, and greatly reformed the bishop, and strictly forbade him to preach any doctrine. St Bernard himself, devoted as he was, and devoted to the church of Rome in other respects, yet he raged loudly against the corruption of the clergy, and the pride and tyranny of the popes, saying that they were the ministers of Christ and served Antichrist, that nothing remained but that the man of sin should be revealed, that the beast in the Apocalyps occupied St Peter's chair, with other expressions to the same effect. While our king Richard I. was at Messina in Sicily, going upon his expedition to the holy land, he † sent for the famous abbat Joachim of Calabria, and heard him with much satisfaction explain the Apocalyps, and discourse of Antichrist. He said that Antichrist was already born in the city of Rome, and that he would be advanced to the apostolical chair, and 'exalted above all that is called God or is worshipped.' So that some true notion of Antichrist began to spread even among the members of the church of Rome; and no wonder it prevailed among those, who more directly opposed the doctrines of that church. Peter de Bruis and Henry his disciple ‡ taught in several parts of France, that "the body and blood of Christ were not offered in the theatrical mass; that the doctrine of the change of the substances in the sacrament is false; that sacrifices, that is masses, prayers, alms, and other works of the living for the dead, are foolish and impious, and profit them nothing; that priests and monks ought rather to marry than to burn, that crosses are not to be adored, or venerated, and so

* Spanham. *ibid.* Usser. *de Christian. Eccles. successione et statu* Cap. 7. Sect. 5, 6.

† Rogeri de Hoveden *Annal. Paris Posterior* p. 681. Edit. Francof. 1601. Jam natus est in civitate Romana, et in sede apostolica sublimabitur, &c. Collier's *Eccles. Hist* B 6. p. 401.

‡ Corpus et sanguinem Christi in theatrica missa non offerri. Doctrinam de speciebus sacramentis, ipsis nimirum substantiis mutatis esse falsam. Sacrificia, id est missas, orationes, elemosynas, et reliqua vivorum opera pro defunctis, esse stultitium et impietatem, nihilque eis prodesse. Sacerdotes et monachos debere uxores potius ducere, quam comburi. Cruces non adorandas aut venerandas: et tot cruces superstitioni servientes, potius amovendas quam retinendas, &c. *Hist. Eccles. Magdeburg.* Vol. 3. Cent. XII. Cap. 3. p. 137. &c. Edit. Basil. 1622. Spanham *ibid.* Cap. 7. Sect. 1. Dupin *XII. Siecle* Chap. 6. Allix's *Remarks upon the ancient churches of the Albigenes*, Chap. 14.

so many others, being condemned, ought rather
 to be reckoned as witnesses, and they both were
 martyrs, the one being burnt, and the other imprisoned
 for life, on account of their doctrines. Other heresies
 were laid to their charge, and their own writings are
 now extant to serve for them; but these things they
 taught and professed, their enemies themselves being judges.
 Arnold of Brescia * held opinions contrary to those
 of the church concerning the sacrament, and preached
 mightily against the temporal power and jurisdiction of
 the pope and the clergy; for which he was burnt at
 Rome in the year 1135, and his ashes were thrown into
 the Tyber, to prevent the people from expressing any ve-
 neration for his relics. But the true witnesses, and as I
 may say the protestants of this age, were the Waldenses
 and Albigenes, who began to be famous at this time,
 and being dispersed into various places were distinguished
 by various appellations. Their first and proper name
 seemeth to have been *Vallenses*, or inhabitants of the val-
 lies; and so saith † one of the oldest writers, Ebrard of
 Bethune who wrote in the year 1212; "They call them-
 selves *Vallenses*, because they abide in the valley of
 tears," alluding to their situation in the vallies of Pied-
 mont. They were called *Albigenes* from Alby a city in
 the southern parts of France, where also great numbers
 of them were situated. They were afterwards denomi-
 nated *Valdenses* or *Waldenses* from Peter Valdo or Waldo
 a rich citizen of Lyons, and a considerable leader of the
 sect. From Lyons too they were called *Leonists*, and *Ca-
 thari* from the professed purity of their life and doctrine,
 as others since have had the name of *Puritans*. As there
 was a variety of names, so there might be some diversity
 of opinions among them; but that they were not guilty
 of Manicheism and other abominable heresies, which have
 been charged upon them, is certain and evident from all
 the remains of their creeds, confessions, and writings.

L. 2

Their

* Otho Frising de Gestis Frederici. Lib. 1. Spanhem ibid. Cap.
 7. sect. 4. Dupin ibid. Allix's Remarks on the ancient church of
 Piedmont. Chap. 18.

† Vallenses se appellant, eo quod in valle lachrymarum man-
 eant Ebrard Beth. Antihæret. Cap. 25. Wær. ibid. Cap. 8 sect.
 4. Allix. ibid.

Their opinions * are thus recited from an old manuscript by the Centurionates of Magdeburgh.

" In articles of faith the authority of the holy scripture

" is the highest, and for that reason it is the rule of judging ; so that whatsoever agreeth not with the word of

" God, is deservedly to be rejected and avoided.

" The decrees of fathers and councils are so far to be

" approved, as they agree with the word of God.

" The reading and knowledge of the holy scriptures is

" free and necessary for all men, the laity as well as the

" clergy ; yea and the writings of the prophets and apostles are to be read rather than the comments of men.

" The

* In articulis fidei summam esse sacrae scripturae auctoritatem, eamque, ob causam esse illam normam iudicandi ; ut quicquid cum verbo Dei non congruat, merito sit repudiandum et fugiendum.

Patrum et conciliorum dogmata catenus probanda, quatenus cum verbo Dei conveniant.

Sacrarum scripturarum lectionem et cognitionem, omnibus hominibus, tum laicis, tum sacris viris, liberam et necessariam esse ; imo potius prophetarum et apostolorum monumenta legenda esse, quam hominum commenta.

Duo esse ecclesiae Christi sacramenta, baptismum et cenam Domini. Utriusque speciei usum, pro sacerdotibus et laicis, a Christo institutum esse.

Missas esse impias ; ac festorem esse, pro mortuis missificari. Furgatorium esse signum hominum ; credentes enim, in vitam æternam, non credentes autem, in damnationem æternam venire.

Sanctorum mortuorum invocationes et cultum, esse idololatriam. Romanam ecclesiam esse meretricem Babylonicam.

Papae et episcopis non obtemperandum : quia sint lupi ecclesiae Christi.

Papam non habere primatum omnes ecclesias Christi, nec habere potestatem utriusque gladii.

Ecclesiam Christi esse, quae sincerum Christi verbum audiat, et sacramentis ab ipso institutis utatur, ubicunque eosorum ca, existat.

Vota esse hominum signum, Sodomam nutrientia. Tot ordines esse tot characteris bestiae.

Monochatum esse cadaver factidum.

Templorum tot superstitiosas dedicationes, memoris tmortuorum, benedictiones creatureum, peregrinationars, tot coacta jejunia, tot festa superfluae perpetuos istos hominum indoctorum boatus, ac reliquarum ceremoniarum observationes, verbi doctrinam et institutionem manifeste impediētes, esse inventiones diabolicas.

Conjugium sacerdotum esse licitum et necessarium

Hæc ex antiquo manuscripto libro proferimus Hist. Eccles. Magdeburg. Vol. 3. Cent. XII. Cap. 8. p. 548, 549. Edit. Basil. 1624. See also the Confession of the faith of the Waldenses in Perrin's Hist. B. 1. Chap. 12, &c.

- " The sacraments of the church of Christ are two,
 " baptism and the supper of the Lord.
 " The offering of both kinds for priests and people
 " was instituted by Christ.
 " Masses are impious; and it is madness to say masses
 " for the dead.
 " Purgatory is an invention of men; for they who be-
 " lieve, go into eternal life, they who believe not, into
 " eternal damnation.
 " The invoking and worshipping of dead saints is
 " idolatry.
 " The church of Rome is the whore of Babylon.
 " We must not obey the pope and bishops; because
 " they are the wolves of the church of Christ.
 " The pope hath not the primacy over all the churches
 " of Christ, neither hath he the power of both swords.
 " That is the church of Christ which heareth the si-
 " cere word of Christ, and useth the sacraments institu-
 " ted by him, in what place soever it exist.
 " Vows of celibacy are inventions of men, and occasi-
 " ons of Sodomy.
 " So many orders are so many characters of the beast.
 " Monks are a stinking carcase.
 " So many superstitions, dedications of churches, com-
 " memorations of the dead, benedictions of creatures,
 " pilgrimages, so many forced fastings, so many superflu-
 " ous festivals, those perpetual bellowings (meaning the
 " singing and chanting) of unlearned men, and the ob-
 " servations of the other ceremonies, manifestly hinder-
 " ing the teaching and learning of the word, are diabol-
 " ical inventions.
 " The marriage of priests is lawful and necessary."

Much hath been written in censure and commendation of this sect both by enemies and friends, by papists and protestants. If they have been grossly misrepresented and vilified on one side, they have been amply vindicated and justified on the other; but I will only produce the testimonies of three witnesses concerning them, whom both sides must allow to be unexceptionable, Reinerius, Thunus,

and Meneray. * Flourished about the year 1251; and his testimony is the most remarkable, as he was a Dominican, and inquisitor general. * Among all the sects, which still are or have been, there is not any more pernicious to the church than that of the Leonists. And this for three reasons. The first is, because it is older; for some say that it hath endured ~~from~~ the time of Pope Sylvester; others, from the time of the Apostles. The second, because it is more general; for there is scarce any country wherein this sect is not. The third, because when all other sects beget horror in the hearers by the outrageousness of their blasphemies against God, this

* Inter omnes sectas, quæ adhuc sunt vel fuerunt, non est perniciosior ecclesie quam Leonistarum. Et hoc tribus de causis. Prima est, quia est d utiunior; aliqui enim desunt, quod duraverit a tempore Sylvestri; aliqui, a tempore apostolorum. Secunda, quia est generalior; fere enim nulla est terra, in qua hæc secta non sit. Tertia quia cum omnes aliæ sectæ immanitate blasphemiarum in Deum audientibus horrorem inducant hæc Leonistarum magnam habet speciem pietatis; eo quod coram hominibus iuste vivant, et bene omnia de Deo credant, et omnes articulos qui in symbola continentur; solummodo Romanam ecclesiam blasphemant et clerum; cui multitudo laicorum facili est ad credendum. Reiner. contra Hæret. Cap. 4 p. 54. Edit. Ingolst. 1613. Usser. ibid. Cap. 6. Sect. 11. Cap. 8. Sect. 1. Cave Hist. Litt. Vol. 2. ad ann. 1244. p. 302. Usser hath added other remarkable testimonies concerning the morals of the Waldenses and their followers. Pontificius quidam inquisitor (Rerum Bohem Script. a Frehero edit p. 231.) Leonistarum sive Waldensium mores descripturus, hujusmodi utitur præfatiuncula: "Cognoscuntur heretici per mores et verba. Sunt enim in moribus compositi, et modesti; superbiam in vestibus non habent, &c." Misererrima profecto tempora in quibus compositi et modesti mores hæreticorum haberentur insignia. De iisdem claudius Seyssilius archiepiscopus Taurinensis; (Seyssil tract. adversus errores et sectam Waldensium. Edit. Paris. an. 1520. fol. 9.) Nonnulli etiam ad horum Waldensium confirmandam tolerandamque sectam confert, quod præter hæc quæ contra fidem religionemque nostram assument, in reliquis ferme puriorem quam ceteri Christiani vitam agunt. Non enim nisi coacti jurant, raroque nomen Dei in vanum proferunt. promiss. quæ sua bona fide implent, et in paupertate pars maxima degentes, apostolicam vitam doctrinamque servare se solus protestantur: ob idque potestatem ecclesiæ apud se, verum innoxios et veros Christi discipulos, relidere affirmant; pro cuius fide religionemque in egestate vivere, et a nobis persecutionem pati pulchrum et gloriosum ducunt. Fratribus Bohemis, Waldensium sobolum, non dissimile perhibuit testimonium, qui fidei ipsorum fuit inimicissimus. Jacobus Lichtenstenius Dominicanus.) Citatus a Joachim Camerario de eccles. Fratr. Bohem.) Dico (inquit) quod in moribus et vita boni sunt, veraces in sermone, in caritate

this of the Leonists with a great show of piety; because they live justly before men, and believe all things rightly concerning God, and all the articles which are contained in the creed, only they blaspheme the church of Rome and the clergy, whom the multitude of the laity is easy to believe. The credit of Thuanus as an historian is too well established to need any recommendation; and he is so candid and impartial, as to distinguish between their real opinions, and those heresies which were falsely imputed to them by their enemies. "Peter Valdo a wealthy citizen of Lyons about the year of Christ 1170 gave name to the Waldenses. He (as Guy de Perpignan, bishop of Elna in Roussillon, who exercised the office of inquisitor against the Waldenses, hath left testified in writing) leaving his house and goods, devoted himself wholly to the profession of the gospel, and took care to have the writings of the prophets and apostles translated into the vulgar tongue—When now in a little time he had many followers about him, he sent them forth as his disciples into all parts to propagate the gospel—Their fixed opinions were said to be these: that the church of Rome, because she hath renounced the true faith of Christ, is the whore of Babylon, and that barren tree, which Christ himself hath cursed, and commanded to be rooted up; therefore we must by no means obey the pope, and the bishops who cherish his errors: that the monastic

* Petrus Valdis locuples civis Lugdunensis anno Christi circiter MCLXX Valdensibus nomen dedit. Is (ut monumentis testatur reliquit Vidus Perpinianus præsul Elnensis, qui qua sitoris in Valdenses munus exercuit) domo ac bonis relictis totum se evangelicæ professioni devoverat, et prophetarum atque apostolorum scripta populari lingua vertenda curaveret—Cum jam multos sectatores exiguo tempore circa se haberet, eos tanquam discipulos ad evangeliam promulgandam in omnes partis ablegat—Eorum hæc dogmata ferebantur; Ecclesiam Romanam, quoniam veræ Christi fidei renunciaverit, Babylonicam meretricem esse, et arborem illam sterilem, quam ipse Christus diris devovit et revelandam esse præcipit; proinde minime parendum pontifici et episcopis, qui ejus errores fovent; monasticam vitam ecclesiæ sentinam ac Plutonium esse; vana illius vota, nec nisi sædis puerorum amoribus servientia; presbyterii ordines magnæ bestiarum, quæ in Apocalypsi commemoratur notas esse; ignem purgatorium, solemne sacrum, templorum encaenia, cultum sanctorum, ac pro mortuis propitiatorium, Satanæ commenta esse. His præcipuis ac certis eorum doctrinæ capitibus alia afflicta, de consilio, resurrectione, animæ statu post mortem, et de cibis

Thuan. Hist. lib. 6. Sec. 16. Vol. 1. Edit. Roubin

monastic life is the rule of the church, and a hellish institution; its vows are vain, and inconsistent only to the filthy love of boys, the orders of the monks are the marks of the great beast, which is described in the Apocalyp; the fire of purgatory, the sacrifice of the mass, the feast of the dedications of churches, the worship of saints, and propitiations for the dead, are inventions of Satan. To these the principal and certain heads of their doctrine, others were feigned and added, concerning marriage, the resurrection, the state of the soul after death, and concerning meats." Mezeray, the celebrated historiographer of France, is short, but full to our purpose; for he saith, that "they had almost the same opinions as those who are now called Calvinists." It cannot be objected that this is protestant evidence, for they were all three members of the church of Rome.

In the *thirteenth* century, the Waldenses and Albigenses had spread and prevailed so far, and were prevailing still farther, that the pope thought it necessary to exert his utmost efforts to suppress them. For this purpose the first croisade was proclaimed of Christians against Christians, and the office of inquisition was erected, the one to subdue their bodies, the other to inslave their souls. It is enough to make the blood run cold, to read of the horrid murders and devastations of this time, how many of these poor innocent Christians were sacrificed to the blind fury and malice of their enemies. It is † computed that in France alone were slain a million: and what was the consequence of these shocking barbarities? No writer can better inform us than † the wise and moderate historian

*—avient a peu près les mêmes opinions que ceux qu'on nomme aujourd'hui Calvinistes. Abregé Chronol. Philippe Augst. p. 657. Edit. Amsterdam 1674.

† Vide Mede in Apoc. p. 323.

‡ Contra quos Valenses) cum exquisita supplicia parum proficerent, et remedio, quod intempestive adhibitum fuerat, malum exacerbaretur, numerusque eorum in dies cresceret, justi tandem exercitus conscripti sunt: nec minoris molis bellum quam quod antea nostri adversus Saracenos gesserant, contra eisdem decretum est: cujus exitus fuit, ut potius caesi, fugati, bonis ac dignitatibus ubique spoliati atque huc illuc dispersi sunt, quam erroris convicti resipiscerent. Itaque qui armis le initio tutati fuerant, postremo armis victi in Provinciam a se nos et Gallicæ diuinas Alpes vicinas confugerunt, latebrasque et tac ac doctrinæ

historian Thuanus. "Against the Waldenses (saith he) when exquisite punishments availed little, and the evil was exasperated by the remedy which had been unseasonably applied, and their number increased daily, at length complete armies were raised: and a war of no less weight, than what our people had before waged against the Saracens, was decreed against them: the event of which was, that they were rather slain, put to flight, spoiled every where of their goods and dignities, and dispersed here and there, than that convinced of their error they repented. So that they who at first had defended themselves by arms, at last overcome by arms fled into Province and the neighbouring Alps of the French territory, and found a shelter for their life and doctrine in those places. Part withdrew into Calabria, and continued there a long while even to the pontificate of Pious IV. Part passed into Germany, and fixed their abode among the Bohemians, and in Poland and Livonia. Others turning to the west obtained refuge in Britain." But there were others in this age, who proceeded not so far as the Waldenses and Albigenes, and yet opposed the church of Rome in many respects. At the beginning of this century * Almeric and his disciples were charged with several heresies, and were condemned by the second council of Paris in the year 1209. They might possibly hold some heterodox opinions; but their great offence was their denying the change of the substance of the bread and wine in the eucharist, their opposing the worship of saints, images and relics, and their affirming that the pope was Antichrist, that Rome was Babylon, and that the prelates were the members and ministers of Antichrist: so that these differed little from the Waldenses and Albigenes. William of St Amour, a doctor of the Sorbonne, † wrote a treatise 'of the perils of the last times,' wherein he applied

fuæ iis in locis repererunt. Pars in Calabriam conoessit, in eaque diu; atque adeo usque ad Pii IV. pontificatum, se continuit. Pars in Germaniam transit, atque apud Bohemos, et in Polonia et Livonia, larem fixit. Alii ad occidentem versi in Britannia perflugium habuerunt. Thuanus Præfat ad Henric IV. p. 7. Edit. Buckley.

* Dupin XIII. Siæcle. Chap. 8. Spanhemii Hist. Christian. Sæc. XIII. Cap. 9. Sect. 2.

† Hist. Ecclesiast. Magdeburg. Cent. XIII. Cap. 10. p. 58. Edit. Basl. 1624. Dupin. ibid. Cap. 7. Spanhem, ibid. Cap. 6. sect. 1.

plied that the prophecy of St Paul, 2 Tim. iii. 1. 'This know also that in the last days persons times shall come,' to the mendicant orders and preachers of his time; and it was so severe a satire upon the Dominicans, that pope Alexander IV. condemned it, as containing perverse sentiments, contrary to the power and authority of the Roman pontiff and of the other bishops, and in fine as a book capable of causing great scandals and troubles in the church. Robert Groshead, or Greathead, bishop of Lincoln, * in his speeches and writings inveighed bitterly against the corruption and superstition, the lewdness and wickedness of the clergy in general, the rapacity and avarice, the tyranny and antichristianism of pope Innocent IV. in particular. He was also no less a friend to † civil than to religious liberty, and ordered all the violators of Magna Charta, whosoever and wheresoever they were within his diocese, to be excommunicated. Matthew Paris, a contemporary historian, hath ‡ related the substance of his dying discourses, wherein he proves the pope to be an heretic, and deservedly to be called Antichrist; and concludes with giving him the character of "refuter of the pope, reprover of prelates, corrector of monks, director of priests, instructor of the clergy, and in short the hammer to beat down the Romans and to bring them into contempt." It is no marvel that such a man was excommunicated; but he || little regarded the censure, and he appealed from the court of Innocent to the tribunal of Christ. Not to mention others, Matthew Paris himself hath painted in the most lively colours the corruptions and abominations of the see of Rome, the tyranny, superstition, simony, and wickedness of the popes and clergy. A protestant historian could not more freely lash and expose the vices of the times, than he did who was a monk of St Albans.

As 'they are not all Israel which are of Israel;' so neither have all the members of the Romish church believed

all

* Vide Cent. Magdeburg. Balacum, Dupin, Cave, Tanner, &c.

† Matt. Paris ad Ann. 1253. p. 874. Edit. Watts. 1646.

‡ Matt. Paris. *ibid.* Papae redargutor, praelatorum corrector, monachorum corrector, presbyterorum director, clericorum instructor—Romanorum malleus et contemptor, p. 576.

§ Excommunicatus appellavit a curia Innocentii ad tribunal Christi. Henr. de Knyghton, Lib. 2. inter Scriptores X. p. 2436.

all her doctrines. Dante and Petrarch, the former of whom died, and the latter was born as well as died, in the *fourteenth* century, were * severe satyrists upon the times, and wrote freely against the temporal dominion of the pope, and the corruptions of the clergy, treating Rome as Babylon, and the pope as Antichrist: and they probably did more hurt to the court and church of Rome by their wit and raillery, than others by invective and declamation. Peter Fitz Cassiodor, whether a fictitious or a real person, * addressed a remonstrance to the church of England against the tyranny, avarice, and exactions of the court of Rome, advising and exhorting the English to shake off the Roman yoke from their necks. Michael Casenas and William Occam † exposed the various errors and heresies of John XXII to the number of 77; and secure in the protection of the emperor, they set at nought the thunder of the pope's excommunications. Marsilius, a famous lawyer of Padua, ‡ wrote a treatise intitled *The Defender of Peace*, wherein he advanced the power of the emperor above that of the pope in things spiritual as well as temporal; painted in the strongest colours the pride, ambition, and luxury of the court of Rome; and abundantly proved that the pope had not by divine right the least authority or pre-eminence over other bishops. It is no wonder that the author and his book were condemned together. But there were other and better witnesses than these in this age. It was shewn before from Thuanus, that the Waldenses and Albigenes being persecuted in their own country, fled for refuge into foreign nations, some into Germany, and some into Britain. In Germany they grew and multiplied so fast, notwithstanding the rage and violence of croifaders and inquisitors, that at the beginning of this century || it is computed, that there were eighty thousand of them in Bohemia,

* Spanhemii Hist. Christian. Saec. XIV. Cap. 5. sect. 8. et 9. Robertus Gerius et Henricus Wharton in Appendice ad Cave Hist. Litt. p. 9. et 50.

† Appendix ad Cave, p. 10. Collier's Ecclesiast. Hist. Book 5. p. 501, &c.

‡ H. Wharton in Append. ad Cave, p. 20. et 28. Dupin, XIV. Siecle. Chap. 5.

§ Wharton ibid. p. 26, 27. Dupin, Chap. ibid. 5. et 8.

¶ Bzovius ad Ann. 1315. Spanhem ibid. Cap. 6. sect. 1. Dupin, ibid. Chap. 8.

Bohemia, Austria, and the neighboring territories; and they pertinaciously defended their doctrines even unto death. Among a variety of other names they were called *Lollards* from * one Walter Lollard, who preached in Germany about the year 1315 against the authority of the pope, the intercession of saints, the mass, extreme unction, and other ceremonies and superstitions of the church of Rome; and was burned alive at Constance in the year 1322. In England also they were denominated Lollards, though there was a man more worthy to have given name to the sect, the deservedly famous John Wickliff, the honour of his own, and the admiration of all succeeding times. Rector only of Lutterworth, he † filled all England, and almost all Europe with his doctrine. He began to grow famous about the year 1360 by preaching and writing against the superstitions of the age, the tyranny of the pope, the erroneous doctrines and vicious lives of the monks and the clergy; and especially by defending the royal and ecclesiastical jurisdiction against the usurpations of the popes and mendicant friars. The more he opposed, the more reason he found for opposition. He translated the canonical scriptures into the English language, and wrote comments upon them. He demonstrated the antichristianity of popery, and the abomination of desolation in the temple of God. He asserted the one true sacrifice of Christ, and opposed the sacrifice of the mass, transubstantiation, the adoration of the host, the seven sacraments, purgatory, prayers for the dead, the worship of saints and images, and in short all the principal corruptions and superstitions of the church of Rome. His success too was greater than he could have expected. The princes, the people, the university of Oxford, many even of the clergy, favoured and supported him, and embraced his opinions. His enemies have charged him with several heterodox notions; but many years ago was published *An apology for John Wickliff, shewing his conformity with the now church of England, &c.* collected out of his written works in the Bodleian library by Thomas James keeper of the same, at Oxford 1608.— This truly

* Dupin. *ibid.* Hofmanni Lex. Spleman, Skinner, &c.

† H. Wharton in *Append ad Cave.* p. 60, &c. Spanhem, *ibid.* Cap. 6. Leland, Bale, Tanner, &c. &c.

truly great and good man died of a palsy the last day of the year 1387, but his doctrines did not die with him. His books were read in the public schools and colleges at Oxford, and were recommended to the diligent perusal of each student in the university, till they were condemned and prohibited by the council of Constance in the next century. His followers the Lollards in the year 1397 presented * a remonstrance to the parliament, which contained these with other articles; that when the church of England began to mismanage her temporalities in conformity to the precedents of Rome, faith hope and charity began to take their leave of her communion: that the English priesthood derived from Rome, and pretending to a power superior to angels, is not that priesthood which Christ settled upon his apostles, that enjoining celibacy to the clergy was the occasion of scandalous irregularities in the church; that the pretended miracle of transubstantiation runs the greatest part of Christendom upon idolatry; that exorcisms and benedictions pronounced over wine, bread, water, the mitre, the cross, &c. have more of necromancy than religion in them; that prayer made for the dead is a wrong ground for charity and religious endowments; that pilgrimages, prayers, and offerings made to images and crosses, are near of kin to idolatry; that auricular confession makes the priests proud, lets them into the secrets of the penitent, gives opportunities for intrigues, and is attended with scandalous consequences, as well as the doctrine of indulgences; that the vow of single life undertaken by women in the church of England is the occasion of horrible disorders, &c. Some false tenets might be contained in the same remonstrance; for alas, who is there that holdeth the truth without any mixture or alloy of error? They denied the infallibility of the pope, and they could not well pretend to be infallible themselves.

Two things contributed much to the revival of learning in the *fifteenth* century, the Greeks flying with their books from Constantinople which the Turks had taken, and the invention of printing. As learning more revived, so the truth prevailed more; and the more the truth prevailed, the fury of persecution increased in proportion.

VOL. III.

M

Wickliff

* Walsingham, Stow, Spelman, Collier's Eccl. Hist. B. 6. p. 596, &c.

Wickliff himself had been permitted to die in peace ; but after his death his doctrines were condemned, his books were burnt, his very body was dug up and burnt too, by a decree of the council of Constance, and the command of pope Martin V, executed by Richard Fleming bishop of Lincoln. His followers however were not discouraged, and many of them witnessed a good confession even unto death. William Sawtre, parish priest of St Osth in London, * hath the honour of being the first who was burnt for heresy in England ; which was done in the reign of Henry IV, at the beginning of this century. A few years afterwards Thomas Badby † was convicted of heresy, and ordered also to be burnt in Smithfield. Henry prince of Wales was present at his execution : and the poor man shewing very sensible signs of the torment he endured, the prince out of compassion commanded the fire to be removed, and promised him pardon and a pension for life, provided he would retract his errors. But Badby being come to himself, resolutely rejected this offer ; he chose rather to die with a good, than to live with an evil conscience ; and so the fire was kindled again, and he was consumed to ashes. In the next reign Sir John Oldcastle, baron of Cobham, ‡ was prosecuted for being the principal patron and abettor of the Lollards. Being examined before the archbishop of Canterbury, he declared against transubstantiation, penances, the worshipping of the cross, the power of the keys : and asserted that the pope was Antichrist and the head of that body, the bishops were the members, and the friars the hinder parts of the antichristian society. He was therefore pronounced a heretic convict, and delivered over to the secular power. But before the day fixed for his execution he escaped out of prison ; and being charged by his enemies with endeavouring to make an insurrection, he was outlawed for high treason ; and being taken afterwards, he was hanged as a traitor, and burnt hanging as an heretic, being the first nobleman in England who suffered death

* Balzei script. Brit. Cent. 6. No 1. Wharton in Append. ad Cave p. 63 Dupin, Collier, Tanner, &c.

† Fox Burnet's History of the Reformation. Book. 1. Collier's Eccles. Hist. Book. 7. p. 617, &c. Rapin, &c.

‡ Walsingham, Rapin, Collier ibid. p. 620, &c.

§ Walsingham, Rapin, Collier ibid. p. 632 &c.

death for the cause of religion. It was the great blot and stain of Henry the fifth's reign and character, that while he was carrying the glory of the English arms abroad, he was still persecuting the poor Lollards at home. But notwithstanding these persecutions, and the severest laws and proclamations against them, their numbers still increased, not only among the people, but even in parliament, not only in England, but even in foreign countries, and especially in Bohemia. For there John † Huss and Jerome of Prague having received Wickliff's books, advanced and propagated the same doctrines; for which they were both condemned to the flames, and suffered death with the most heroic fortitude. It was a most unjust sentence, contrary to all faith and the solemn engagement of a safe conduct, and drew after it the most fatal consequences. For out of their ashes a civil war was kindled; the Bohemians revolted against the emperor, and maintained and defended their opinions by arms as well as by arguments. What the opinions generally received among the Bohemians were, we may learn with some exactness from one, who had opportunities of being well informed by living and conversing some time among them, and was far from being prejudiced in their favour, Æneas Sylvius, who being afterwards chosen pope assumed the name of Pius II. These then were † their opinions according to him, who, we may be certain, would not represent them better, if he would not represent them worse than they were in reality.

M 2

“ The

* Spanhemii Hist. Christian. Sæc. XV. Cap. 6 et 7. Dupin. Sæcle XV. Chap. 7. Lentant. Hist. Conc. Fil. et Constance.

† Usser de Christian. Eccles. successione et sta. u. C. p. 6. Sect. 16. Allix's Remarks upon the Ancient Church of Piedmont, Chap. 22. Æneas's Sylv. Hist. Bohem. Cap. 35.

Romanum Præfulem reliquis episcopis parem esse.

Inter sacerdotes nullum discrimen; presbyterum nondignitatem, sed vitæ meritum efficere potius.

Animas e corporibus excedentes, aut in æternas e vestigio pœnas mergi, aut perpetua consequi gaudia.

Purgatorium ignem nullum inveniri.

Vanum esse orare pro mortuis, et avaritiæ sacerdotalis inventum Dei et sanctorum, imagines delendas.

Aquarum palmarumque benedictiones irridendas.

Mendicantium religiones malos daemones invenisse

Sacerdotes pauperes esse debere, sola contentos elemosyna.

Libram

- " The pope of Rome is equal with other bishops.
 " Among priests there is no difference of dignity,
 " but merit giveth the preference.
 " Souls departing out of bodies, are immediately ei-
 " ther plunged into eternal punishments, or attain eter-
 " nal joys,
 " There is no purgatory fire.
 " It is in vain to pray for the dead, and an invention
 " of priestly covetousness.
 " The images of God and the saints ought to be de-
 " stroyed.
 " The blessing of water and palm branches is ridicu-
 " lous.
 " The religion of the Mendicants was invented by e-
 " vil demons.
 " Priests ought to be poor, content with alms alone.
 " Every one hath free liberty to preach the word of
 " God.
 " No capital sin ought to be tolerated, although for
 " the sake of avoiding a greater evil.

" He.

Liberam cuique predicationem verbi Dei patere.

Nullum capitale peccatum, quantum vis majoris mali vitandi gratia, tolerandum.

Qui mortalis culpae reus sit, cum neque seculari, neque ecclesiastica potiri dignitate, neque parendum ei.

Confirmationem, quam chrismate pontifices inducunt, et extremam unctionem inter ecclesiae sacramenta minime contineri.

Auricularem confessionem nugacem esse; sufficere sua quemque Deo in cubili suo conqueri peccata.

Baptisma fluvialis undae, nulla interjecta sacri olei mistura recipiendum.

Cœmeteriorum inanem usum, quæstus causa repertum; quacun- que tegantur tellure humana corpora, nihil distare.

Templum Dei late patentis ipsum mundum esse; coarctare majestatem ejus, qui ecclesias, monasteria oratoriaque construunt, tanquam propitior in eis divina bonitas inveniat.

Sacerdotes vestes, altarium ornamenta, pallas, corporalia calices, patinas, vasaque hujusmodi nil habere momenti.

Sacerdotem quocunque loco quocunque tempore sacrum Christi corpus conficere posse, petentibusque ministrare; sufficere, si verba sacramentalia tantum dicat.

Suffragia sanctorum in caelis cum Christo regnantium frustra impetrari, quæ juvare non possunt.

In canonicis horis cantandis dicentisque frustra tempus teri.

Nullæ ab opere cessandum, nisi quæ Dominica nunc appellatur

Celebritates sanctorum prorsus rejiciendas.

Jejuniis quoque ecclesiis institutis, nihil in esse meriti.

" He who is guilty of mortal sin ought not to enjoy any secular or ecclesiastical dignity, nor is he to be obeyed.

" Confirmation, which the bishops celebrate with anointing, and extreme unction, are by no means contained among the sacraments of the church.

" Auricular confession is trifling ; it is sufficient for every one in his chamber to confess his sins unto God.

" Baptism ought to be celebrated without any mixture of holy oil.

" The use of church-yards is vain, invented for the sake of gain ; in whatsoever ground human bodies are buried, it maketh no difference.

" The temple of the great God is the whole world ; they confine his majesty, who build churches, monasteries, and oratories, as if the divine goodness would be found more propitious in them.

" Sacerdotal vestments, ornaments of altars, palls, corporals, chalices, patens and vessels of this sort are of no moment.

" A priest in any place, at any time can consecrate the body of Christ, and administer it to those who desire it ; it is sufficient, if he repeat only the sacramental words.

" The suffrages of the saints reigning with Christ in heaven are implored in vain ; forasmuch as they cannot help us.

" The time is consumed in vain in singing and saying the canonical hours.

" We should cease from work on no day, except that which is now called the Lord's day.

" The festivals of saints are altogether to be rejected.

" The fasts also instituted by the church have no merit in them."

These were the opinions of the Bohemians or Hussites, for which they fought as well as disputed against the pope and emperor. At first they were victorious under the conduct of the famous John Ziska ; and when they were beaten at last, they retired into the mountains and caves, where they continued distinguished by the name of *the Bohemian brethren* till the time of the Reformation. Even in the bosom of the church of Rome there were many good men, who called aloud for a reformation in

DISSERTATIONS ON

faith as well as in morals, in doctrine as well as in discipline. One instance is more particularly worthy of our attention. Jeronimo Savonarola * was a dominican, celebrated in all Italy, and especially in Florence, for the great purity and strictness of his life and doctrine. He preached freely against the vices of the age, the luxury, avarice and debauchery of the Roman clergy in general; and the tyranny and wickedness in particular of pope Alexander VI and his son Cæsar Borgia. In his discourses, sermons and writings, he pressed the necessity of holding a general council, and of making a general reformation: and he wrote particularly a treatise † intitled *The lamentation of the spouse of Christ against false apostles, or an exhortation to the faithful that they would pray unto the Lord for the renovation of the church*. But what was the fruit and consequence of all his pious zeal? he was excommunicated, he was imprisoned, he was tortured, he was burnt; which he suffered with all possible constancy on the 23d of May 1498, and in the 46th year of his age. All persons of any note and eminence bear a double character in the world, and so doth Savonarola, his admirers extolling him as the best of men and the prophet of God, his enemies reviling him as the worst of impostors, and hypocrites; but if his works may speak for him, they are in the ‡ opinion of Dupin, “full of grace and maxims of piety: he speaketh freely there against the vices, and teacheth the most pure and the most exalted morality.”

We are now arrived at the *sixteenth century*, *seculum reformationis* as it hath been called, or the age of reformation. The materials had in great measure been collected, and the foundations had been laid deep before, but this age had the happiness of seeing the superstructure raised and completed. All the Christian world almost had groaned earnestly for a reformation: and pope Adrian himself

* Spanhem. *ibid.* Cap. 5. Sect. 3. H. Wharton. in *Ap. ad Cave* p. 198 &c. Guicciardin. B. 3. toward the end. Phil. de comines B. 2. Chap. 10 Dupin. *ibid.* Chap. 4. Bayle's Dict. etc.

† *Lamentatio Christi sponsæ adversus Pseudopostolos, sive exhortatio ad fideles, ut precantur Dominum pro renovatione ecclesiæ.* Venet. 1533. et cum vita Savonarolæ. Paris. 1674. 8vo. Wharton *ibid.*

‡ Les ouvrages de cet auteur sont pleins d'édification et de maximes de piété: il y parle librement contre ses vices, et y enseigne la morale la plus pure et la plus relevée. Dupin. *ibid.*

himself * acknowledged the necessity of it, and promised to begin with reforming the court of Rome, as the source and origin of evil. Erasmus and others led the way; and Luther began † publicly to preach against the pope's indulgences in the year 1517, which is usually reckoned the era of the Reformation. So that during all the dark ages of popery, from the first rise of the beast down to the Reformation, there have constantly been some true and faithful witnesses of Jesus Christ, who, though they may have fallen into some errors and mistakes; (as indeed who is altogether free from them?) yet it may charitably be presumed, held none which are contrary to the fundamentals of the Christian faith, and destructive of salvation. Many more there were without doubt than have come to our knowledge; many more might have been collected, and this deduction drawn out into a greater length: but I have studied brevity as much as I well could; and they who are desirous of seeing a larger and more particular account of 'the witnesses' may find it in ‡ Flaccius Illyricus, in the Centuriators of Magdeburgh, in Usher, in Allix, in Spanheim, and other authors. Here only some of the principal instances are selected: but this deduction, short and defective as it is, evidently demonstrates however, that there hath not been that uninterrupted union and harmony, which the members of the church of Rome pretend and boast to have been before the Reformation: and at the same time it plainly evinces, that they betray great ignorance, as well as impertinence, in asking the question, *Where was your religion before Luther?* Our religion, we see, was in the hearts and lives of many faithful witnesses; but it is sufficient, if it was no where else, that it was always in the Bible. "The Bible, as Chillingworth § says, the Bible only is the religion of protestants."

15. And

* Sleidan's Hist. of the Reformation, B. 4. Father Paul's Hist. of the Council of Trent. B. 1. Sect. 60.

† Sleidan B. 1. Father Paul, B. 1. sect. 18, &c.

‡ Matthias Flaccius in Catalogo testium veritatis. Hist. Eccles. Magdeburgh. Usher de Christian. Eccles. successionibus et statu. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient church of Piedmont, and the ancient churches of the Albigenes. Frederici Spanhemii Hist. Christiana et Hist. Imaginum.

§ Chillingworth's Religion of Protestants. Cap. 6. sect. 56.

15 And the seventh angel founded, and there were great voices, in heaven, saying, The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.

16 And the four and twenty elders which sat before God on their seats, fell upon their faces and worshipped God.

17 Saying, We give thee thanks, O Lord God almighty, which art, and wast, and art to come; because thou hast taken to thee thy great power, and hast reigned.

18 And the nations were angry, and thy wrath is come, and the time of the dead that they should be judged, and that thou shouldst give rewards unto thy servants the prophets, and to the saints, and them that fear thy name, small and great, and shouldst destroy them which destroy the earth.

We are now come to the seventh and last trumpet, or the third woe trumpet, and the seventh trumpet as well as all the trumpets being comprehended under the seventh seal, and the seventh seal and all the seals being constituent parts or members of the sealed book, it is evident that the seventh trumpet cannot any way belong to the little open book, but it is plainly distinct from it, the little book being no more than an appendage to the sixth trumpet, and the contents all comprehended under it, or at least ending with it. 'The forty and two months of the Gentiles treading the holy city under foot, and the 1260 days of the witnesses prophesying in sackcloth' are 1260 synchronical years, and terminate at the same time with the fall of the Othman empire, or the end of the sixth trumpet or second woe-trumpet. And when 'the second woe is past,' it is said, xi. 14. 'behold, the third woe cometh quickly.' At the sounding of the seventh trumpet, ver. 15. 'the third woe' commenceth, which is rather implied than expressed, as it will be described more fully hereafter, 'The third woe' brought 'on the inhabitants of the earth' is the ruin and downfall of the Antichristian kingdom; and then, and not till then, according to the heavenly chorus, 'the kingdoms of this world will become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever. St John is

wrapt

wrapt and hurried away as it were to a view of the happy millennium, without considering the steps preceding and conducting to it. At the same time 'the four and twenty elders,' or the ministers of the church, ver. 16, 17, 18. are represented as praising and glorifying God for manifesting his power and kingdom more than he had done before: and give likewise an intimation of some succeeding events, as 'the anger of the nations,' Gog and Magog, xx. 8. and the wrath of God displayed in their destruction, xx. 9. and 'the judging of the dead,' or the general judgment, xx. 12. 'and the rewarding of all the good, small and great,' as well as 'the punishing of the wicked.' Here we have only a summary account of the circumstances and occurrences of the seventh trumpet, but the particulars will be dilated and enlarged upon hereafter.

And thus are we arrived at the consummation of all things, through a series of prophecies extending from the apostles days to the end of the world. It is this series which has been our clue to conduct us in our interpretation of these prophecies: and though some of them may be dark and obscure, considered in themselves, yet they receive light and illustration from others preceding and following. All together they are as it were a chain of prophecies, whereof one link depends on, and supports another. If any parts remain yet obscure and unsatisfactory, they may perhaps be cleared up by what the apostle himself hath added by way of explanation.

XXV.

AN ANALYSIS ON THE REVELATION.

PART II.

MOST of the best commentators divide the Apocalypsis or Revelation into two parts, 'the book' βιβλίον 'sealed with seven seals,' and 'the little book' βιβλίον μικρόν as it is called several times. But it happens unfortunately, that according to their division, the lesser book is made

made to contain as much or more than the larger: whereas in truth 'the little book' is nothing more than a part of 'the sealed book,' and is added as a codicil or appendix to it. If we were to divide the Revelation, as they would have it divided, into two parts, the former ending with Chap. ix. and the latter beginning with Chap. x. the whole frame of the book would be disjointed, and things would be separated, which are plainly connected together and dependant upon one another. The former part, as they agree, comprehends the book sealed with seven seals, which are all opened in order; but the seventh seal consists of the seven trumpets, and of the seven trumpets the three last are distinguished by the name of 'the three woe trumpets;' so that the seven trumpets, as well as the seven seals, all belong properly to the former part. Whereas if we were to follow the other division, the trumpets would be divided, the three last trumpets would be divided from each other, the sixth trumpet itself would be divided, would begin in the former part of the book, and end in the latter, and the seventh trumpet would remain separated from the rest, which would be a strange interruption of the series and order of the prophecies, and greatly disturb and confound the course of events. The former part instead of closing with the seventh trumpet, would then break off in the middle of the sixth trumpet: the latter part would then commence under the sixth trumpet, and after that would follow the seventh and last trumpet, and after this the general subject of the Revelation would be resumed from the beginning of the Christian era, which instead of coming in after so many events posterior in point of time, ought certainly to be the beginning of the latter part. For we would also divide the Revelation into two parts, or rather the book so divides itself. For the former part proceeds, as we have seen in a regular and successive series from the apostle's days to the consummation of all things. Nothing can be added, but it must fall some where or other within the compass of this period; it must in some measure be a resumption of the same subjects; and this latter part may most properly be considered as an enlargement and illustration of the former. Several things which were only touched upon, and delivered

vered in dark hints before, require to be more copiously handled, and placed in a stronger light. It was said that 'the beast should make war against the witnesses, and overcome them;' but who or what 'the beast' is we may reasonably conjecture indeed, but the apostle himself will more surely explain. The transactions of the seventh trumpet are all summed up and comprised in a few verses, but we shall see the particulars branched out and enlarged into as many chapters. In short this latter part is designed as a supplement to the former, to complete what was deficient, to explain what was dubious, to illustrate what was obscure: and as the former described more the destinies of the Roman empire, so this latter relates more to the fates of the Christian church.

19 And the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen in his temple the ark of his testa- ment: and there were lightnings, and voices, and thundrings, and an earthquake, and great hail.

This last verse of the eleventh chapter, in my opinion, should have been made the first verse of the twelfth chapter; for it appears to be the beginning of a new subject. It is somewhat like the beginning of Isaiah's vision; vi. 1. 'I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne,' (the ark) 'high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple.' It is somewhat like the beginning of St John's prophetic visions; iv. 1. 2. 'I looked, and behold, a door was opened in heaven; and behold, a throne was set in heaven, and one sat on the throne.' This is much in the same spirit: 'And the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen in his temple the ark of his testament;' that is, new open discoveries were now made, and the mystery of God was revealed to the prophet. 'Lightnings, and voices, and thundrings, and an earthquake, and great hail' are the usual concomitants and attendants of the divine presence, and especially at the giving of new laws and new revelations. So at mount Sinai, Exod. xx. 26, &c. 'there were thunders, and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud, and the whole mount quaked greatly.' So likewise in this very book of the Apocalyps, before the opening of the seven seals, iv.

5. there were 'lightnings, and thundrings, and voices.' So again before the sounding of the seven trumpets, vii. 5. 'there were voices, and thundrings, and lightnings, and an earthquake;' and with as much reason they are made in this place the signs and preludes of the revelations and judgments, which are to follow. It is no just objection, that a new subject is supposed to begin with the conjunction *and*; for this is frequent in the style of the Hebrews; some books, as Numbers, Joshua, the two books of Samuel, and others, begin with *Vau* or *and*; and the same objection would hold equally against beginning the division with the first verse of the next chapter.

C H A P. XII.

1 **A**ND there appeared a great wonder in heaven, a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars:
2 And she being with child, cried, travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered.

3 And there appeared another wonder in heaven, and behold, a great red dragon, having seven heads, and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads.

4 And his tail drew the third part of the stars of

heaven, and did cast them to the earth: and the dragon stood before the woman which was ready to be delivered, for to devour her child as soon as it was born.

5 And she brought forth a man-child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron: and her child was caught up unto God, and to his throne.

6 And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred and threescore days.

St John resumes his subject from the beginning, and represents the church, ver. 1, 2. as a woman, and a mother bearing children unto Christ. She is 'clothed by the sun,' invested with the rays of Jesus-Christ the sun of righteousness; having 'the moon,' the * Jewish new-moon,

* A learned correspondent observes that the Jewish religion is aptly compared to the moon, as its light is not its own, but furnished by the Christian religion, to which it relates, and wherein its types are accomplished.

moons and festivals as well as all sublunary things, 'under her feet; and upon her head a crown of twelve stars,' an emblem of her being under the light and guidance of the twelve apostles. 'And she being with child, cried, travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered.' St Paul hath made use of the same metaphor, and applied it to his preaching and propagating of the gospel in the midst of tribulation and persecution, Gal. iv. 19. 'My little children of whom I travail in birth again, until Christ be formed in you.' But the words of St John are much stronger, and more emphatically express the pangs, and struggles, and torments, which the church endured from the first publication of the gospel to the time of Constantine the Great, when she was in some measure eased of her pains, and brought forth a deliverer. Mr Whiston carries the comparison farther. (Essay on the Revelation, Part 3. Vision 3.) "For as the time of gestation from the conception to the birth in women with child, is known to be 40 weeks, or 280 days; so it is as well known, that from the first rise of our Saviour's kingdom at his resurrection and ascension A. D. 33. till the famous proclamation and edict, for the universal liberty and advancement of Christianity by Constantine and Licinius A. D. 313. which put an end to the pangs of birth in the heaviest persecution that ever was then known, was exactly 280 years," reckoning according to the prophetic account a day for a year. At the same time 'there appeared,' ver. 3. 'a great dragon;' which is the well known sign or symbol of the Devil and Satan, and of his agents and instruments. We find the kings and people of Egypt, who were the great persecutors of the primitive church of Israel, distinguished by this title in several places of the Old Testament: Psal. lxxiv. 13. Is. li. 9. Ezek. xxix. 3. and with as much reason and propriety may the people and emperors of Rome, who were the great persecutors of the primitive church of Christ be called by the same name, as they are actuated by the same principle. For that the Roman empire was here figured, the characters and attributes of the dragon plainly evince, He is 'a great red dragon;' and purple or scarlet was the distinguishing colour of the Roman emperors, consuls, and generals; as it hath been since of the popes and cardinals

dinals. His 'seven heads,' as the angel afterwards, xvii. 9, 10. explains the vision, allude to the seven mountains upon which Rome was built, and to the seven forms of government, which successively prevailed there. His 'ten horns' typify the ten kingdoms, into which the Roman empire was divided; and the 'seven crowns upon his heads' denote, that at this time the imperial power was in Rome, the high city, as Propertias * describes it, seated on seven hills, which presides over the whole world. 'His tail' also, ver. 4. 'drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth;' that is, he subjected the third part of the princes and potentates of the earth: and the Roman empire, as we have seen before, is represented as 'the third part' of the world. 'He stood before the woman, which was ready to be delivered, for to devour her child as soon as it was born:' and the Roman emperors and magistrates kept a jealous watchful eye over the Christians from the beginning. As Pharaoh laid snares for the male children of the Hebrews, and Herod for the infant Christ, the son of Mary; so did the Roman dragon for the mystic Christ, the son of the church, that he might destroy him even in his infancy. But notwithstanding the jealousy and envy of the Romans, the gospel was widely diffused and propagated and the church brought many children unto Christ, and in time such as were promoted to the empire. 'She brought forth a man-child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron,' ver. 5. It was predicted, that Christ should rule over the nations, Psal. ii. 9. 'Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron, thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel:' but Christ, who is himself invisible in the heavens, ruleth visibly in Christian magistrates, princes, and emperors. It was therefore promised before to Christians in general, ii. 26, 27. 'He that overcometh, and keepeth my words unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations (And he shall rule them with a rod of iron: as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to shivers) even as I received of my Father.' But it should seem that Constantine was he particularly

* Septem urbs alta jugis, toti quae praesedit orbi.

Propert. Lib. 3. l. 11 ver. 57.

ticularly intended, for whose life * the dragon Galerius laid many snares, but he providentially escaped them all; and notwithstanding all opposition, 'was caught up unto the throne of God;' was not only secured by the divine protection, but was advanced to the imperial throne, called 'the throne of God;' for Rom. xiii. 1. 'there is no power but of God; the powers that be, are ordained of God.' He too 'ruleth all nations with a rod of iron:' for he had not only the Romans, who before had persecuted the church, under his dominion, but also † subdued the Scythians, Samaritans, and other barbarous nations, who had never before been subject to the Roman empire: and as the learned ‡ Spanheim informs us, there are still extant medals and coins of his with these inscriptions, *the subduer of the barbarous nations, the conqueror of all nations, every where a conqueror*, and the like. What is added, ver. 6. of 'the woman's flying into the wilderness for a thousand two hundred and threescore day's' it is said by way of prolepsis or anticipation. For the war in heaven between Michael and the dragon, and other subsequent events, were prior in order of time to the flight of the woman into the wilderness: but before the prophet passeth on to a new subject, he giveth a general account of what happened to the woman afterwards, and entereth more into the particulars in their proper place.

7 And there was war in heaven; Michael and his angels fought against the dragon, and the dragon fought and his angels:

8 And prevailed not, neither was their place found any more in heaven.

9 And the great dragon was cast out, that old ser-

pent, called the Devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him.

10 And I heard a loud voice, saying in heaven, Now is come salvation, and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power

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of

* Euseb. de Vita Constant. Lib. 1. Cap. 20. Laſtant. de Mort. Perſecut. Cap. 24. Auctor ignotus ad calcem Amm. Marcellini. p. 656 Edit. Valeſii Paris 1681.

† Euseb. de Vita Constant. Lib. 4. Cap. 5. &c.

‡ Spanhemii Dissert. Decima Tertia de Præſtentia et Uſu Numiſm. Antiqu. p. 636, 638. Obſervat. ad Juliani Imp. Orat. L in laudem. Conſtantii. p 66.

of his Christ: for the accuser of our brethren is cast down, which accused them before our God day and night.

11 And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony; and they loved not their lives unto the death.

12 Therefore rejoice, ye heavens, and ye that dwell in them. Woe to the inhabitants of the earth, and of the sea: for the devil is come down unto you, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time.

It might reasonably be presumed, that all the powers of idolatry would be strenuously exerted against the establishment of Christianity, and especially against the establishment of a Christian on the imperial throne: and these struggles and contentions between the Heathen and the Christian religions are represented, ver. 7. by 'war in heaven' between the angels of darkness and the angels of light. Michael was, Dan. x. 21. xii. i. the tutelar angel and protector of the Jewish church. He performs here the same office of champion for the Christian church. He and the good angels, who are 'sent forth,' Heb. i. 14. 'to minister to the heirs of salvation,' were the invisible agents on one side, and the devil and all his angels were on the other. The visible actors in the cause of Christianity were the believing emperors and ministers of the word, the martyrs and confessors; and in support of idolatry were the persecuting emperors and heathen magistrates together with the whole train of priests and sophists. This contest lasted several years, and the final issue of it was, ver. 8, 9. that the Christian prevailed over the heathen religion; the Heathens were deposed from all rule and authority, and the Christians were advanced to dominion and empire in their stead. Our Saviour said unto his disciples casting devils out of the bodies of men, Luke x. 18. 'I beheld Satan, as lightening, fall from heaven.' In the same figure Satan fell from heaven, and 'was cast out into the earth,' when he was thrust out of the imperial throne, 'and his angels were cast out with him,' not only all the heathen priests and officers civil and military were cashiered, but their very gods and demons, who before were adored for their divinity, became the subjects
of

of contempt and execration. It is very remarkable, that Constantine himself and the Christians of his time, describe his conquests under the same image, as if they had understood that this prophecy had received its accomplishment in him. Constantine himself, * in his epistle to Eusebius and other bishops concerning the re-edifying and repairing of churches, saith, that "liberty being now restored, and *that dragon* being removed from the administration of public affairs, by the providence of the great God; and by my ministry, I esteem the great power of God to have been made manifest even to all." Moreover † a picture of Constantine was set up over the palace gate, with the cross over his head, and under his feet *the great enemy of mankind, who persecuted the church by the means of impious tyrants, in the form of a dragon*, transfixed with a dart through the midit of his body, and falling headlong into the depth of the sea: in allusion, it is said expressly, to the divine oracles in the books of the prophets, where that evil spirit is called the dragon and the crooked serpent. Upon this victory of the church, there is introduced, ver. 10. a triumphant hymn of thanksgiving for the depression of idolatry, and exaltation of true religion: for now it was no longer in the power of the heathen persecutors, as Satan accused holy Job before God, to accuse innocent Christians before the Roman governors, as the perpetrators of all crimes, and the causers of all calamities. It was not by temporal means or arms that the Christians obtained this victory, ver. 11. but by spiritual, by the merits and death of their Redeemer, by their constant profession of the truth, and by their patient suffering of all kinds of tortures even unto

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death:

† Νυνι δε της ελευθεριας αποδοθεισης, και το δρακοντος εκεινη απο της των ποιων δικησεως, το Θεο το μεγαλυ προνοια, ημμεν τε ο υπηρισιαι εκδιωχθεις, ηλημαι και πασι φανεραι γεγεννησθαι την θειαν δυναμιν, κ. τ. λ. Nunc vero cum libertas restituta sit, et draco hic providentia quidem Dei optimi maximi, ministerio autem nostro a republice administratione submotus; equidem existimo divinam potentiam omnibus clarissime innouisse. &c. Euseb. de Vita Constant. Lib. 2. Cap. 46. Socratis Hist. Eccles. Lib. Cap. 9. Theodoret. Lib. 1. Cap. 15.

† Euseb. de Vita Constant. Lib. 3. Cap. 3. τονδε εχθρον και πολαιμον θηρα, τον την εκκλησιαν το Θεο δια της των ανδρων πολιορκησαντα τυρανιδα, — εν δρακοντος μοφω. hostem illum et inimicum generis humani, qui impiorum tyrannorum opera ecclesiam Dei oppugnaverant, sub draconis forma.

death: and the blood of the martyrs hath been often called *the seed of the church*. This victory was indeed, ver. 12. matter of joy and triumph to the blessed angels and glorified saints in heaven, by whose sufferings it was in great measure obtained; but still new woes are threatened 'to the inhabitants of the earth;' for though the dragon was deposed, yet was he not destroyed; though idolatry was depressed, yet was it not wholly suppressed; there were still many Pagans intermixed with the Christians, and the devil would incite fresh troubles and disturbances on earth, 'because he knoweth that he hath but a short time,' it would not be long before the Pagan religion should be totally abolished, and the Christian religion prevail in all the Roman empire.

13 And when the dragon saw that he was cast unto the earth, he persecuted the woman which brought forth the man-child.

14 And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness, into her place: where she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time, from the face of the serpent.

15 And the serpent cast out of his mouth water as a flood, after the woman;

that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood.

16 And the earth helped the woman, and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed up the flood, which the dragon cast out of his mouth.

17 And the dragon was wroth with the woman, and went to make war with the remnant of her seed, which kept the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ.

When the dragon was thus deposed from the imperial throne, and 'cast unto the earth,' ver. 13. he still continued to persecute the church with equal malice, though not with equal power. He made several attempts to restore the Pagan idolatry in the reign of Constantine, and afterwards in the reign of Julian; he traduced and abused the Christian religion by such writers as Hierocles, Libanius, Eunapius, and others of the same stamp and character; he rent and troubled the church with heresies and schisms; he stirred up the favourers of the Arians, and

and especially the kings of the Vandals in Africa, to persecute and destroy the orthodox Christians. These things, as * Eusebius saith upon one of these occasions, some malicious and wicked demon, envying the prosperity of the church, effected. But the church was still under the protection of the empire, ver. 14. 'and to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle.' As God said to the children of Israel, Exod. xix. 4. 'Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles wings, and brought you unto myself;' so the church was supported and carried as it were on eagle's wings: but the similitude is the more proper in this case, an eagle being the Roman ensign, and the *two wings* alluding probably to the division that was then made of the eastern and the western empire. In this manner was the church protected, and these wings were given, 'that she might fly into the wilderness,' into a place of retirement and security, 'from the face of the serpent.' Not that she fled into the wilderness, at this time, but several years afterwards; and there 'she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time,' that is three prophetic years and a half, which is the same period with the 'thousand two hundred and threescore days' or years before mentioned. So long the church is to remain in a desolate and afflicted state, during the reign of Antichrist; as Elijah, 1 Kings xvii. xviii. Luke iv. 25, 26. while idolatry and famine prevailed in Israel, was secretly fed and nourished three years and six months in the wilderness. But before the woman fled into the wilderness, 'the serpent cast out of his mouth, water as a flood, ver. 15. with intent to wash her away. *Waters* in the style of the Apocalyps, xvii. 16. signify *peoples* and *nations*; so that here was a great inundation of various nations, excited by the dragon or the friends and patrons of the old idolatry, to oppress and overwhelm the Christian religion. Such appeared plainly to have been the design of the dragon, when

* Ταυτα μιν εν φθονος (forſan φθονος) τις και πονηρος δαιμων, πους της εκκλησιης βαſκαινων αſαθης παρειργιζοι. Hæc livor invidos, et malignus daemon ecclesiæ ſelicitatem ſemper ægre ferens, in noſtram perniciem machinatus eſt. Euseb de Vita Constant. Lib. 2. Cap. 73.

when * Stilicho, prime minister of the emperor Honorius, first invited the barbarous heathen nations, the Goths, Alans, Sueves, and Vandals, to invade the Roman empire, hoping by their means to raise his son Eucherius to the throne, who from a boy was an enemy to the Christians, and threatened to signalize the beginning of his reign with the restoration of the Pagan, and abolition of the Christian religion. Nothing indeed was more likely to produce the ruin and utter subversion of the Christian church, than the irruptions of so many barbarous Heathen nations, into the Roman empire. But the event proved contrary to human appearance and expectation; 'the earth swallowed up the flood;' ver. 16. the Barbarians were rather swallowed up by the Romans, than the Romans by the Barbarians; the Heathen conquerors instead of imposing their own, submitted to the religion of the conquered Christians; and they not only embraced the religion, but affected even the laws, the manners, the customs, the language, and the very name of Romans, so that the victors were in a manner absorbed and lost among the vanquished. This course not succeeding according to probable expectation, the dragon did not therefore desist from his purpose, ver. 17. but only took another method of persecuting the true sons of the church, as we shall see in the next chapter. It is said that he 'went to make war with the remnant of her seed, who kept the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus;' which implies that at this time there was only a remnant, their corruptions were greatly increased, and 'the faithful were diminished from among the children of men.'

CHAP. XIII.

1 **A**ND I stood upon the sand of the sea, and saw a beast rise up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns, and upon his heads the name of blasphemy.
 2 And the beast which I saw was like unto a leopard, and

* Interea comes Stilicho, Vandalorum in bellis, avarae, perfidae et dolosae gentis genere editus, parvipendens quod sub imperatore imperabat, Eucherium filium suum, sicut a plerisque traditur, jam inde Christianorum persecutionem a puerio privatoque meditantem,

and his feet were as *the feet* of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion: and the dragon gave him his power, and his seat, and great authority.

3 And I saw one of his heads, as it were wounded to death; and his deadly wound was healed: and all the world wondered after the beast.

4 And they worshipped the dragon which gave power unto the beast: and they worshipped the beast, saying, Who is like unto the beast? who is able to make war with him?

5 And there was given unto him a mouth speaking great things, and blasphemies; and power was given unto him to continue forty and two months.

6 And he opened his

mouth in blasphemy against God, to blaspheme his name, and his tabernacle, and them that dwell in heaven.

7 And it was given unto him to make war with the saints, and to overcome them: and power was given him over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations.

8 And all that dwell upon the earth shall worship him, whose names are not written in the book of life, of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.

9 If any man have an ear, let him hear.

10 He that leadeth into captivity, shall go into captivity: He that killeth with the sword, must be killed with the sword. Here is the patience and the faith of the saints.

Here 'the beast' is described at large, who was only mentioned before: xi. 7. and a *beast* in the prophetic stile is a tyrannical idolatrous empire. The kingdom of God and of Christ is never represented under the image of a *beast*. As Daniel, vii. 2, 3. beheld 'four great beasts,' representing the four great empires, 'come up from' a stormy *sea*, that is from the commotions of the world; so St John, ver. 1. saw this *beast* in like manner, 'rise up out of the sea.' He was said before, xi. 7. to ascend *ex vns abyssi* 'out of the abyss or bottomless pit;' and it is said

ditantem, in imperium quoque modo sustinere nitebatur. Quamobrem Alaricum, cunctamque Gothorum gentem, &c.—Eucherius, quia conciliandum sibi favorem Paganorum, restitutione templorum et everfione, ecclesiarum imbuturum se regni primordia minabatur, &c. Orosii Hist. Lib. 7. Cap. 38. p. 571. Edit. Havercamp. Vide etiam Jornandem de Rebus Geticis et de Regn. Succes. et Paulum Diaconum. Lib. 13.

said afterwards, xvii. 8. that he shall ascend *ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου*, 'out of the abyss or bottomless pit; and here it is said to ascend *ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης* 'out of the sea;' so that 'the sea and abyss or bottomless pit' are in these passages the same. No doubt is to be made, that this beast was designed to represent the Roman empire; for thus far both ancients and moderns, papists and protestants are agreed: the only doubt and controversy is, whether it was Rome Pagan or Christian, imperial or papal, which may perhaps be fully and clearly determined in the sequel.

St John saw this beast *rising* out of the sea, but the Roman empire was risen and established long before St John's time; and therefore this must be the Roman empire, not in its then present, but in some future shape and form; and it arose in another shape and form, after it was broken to pieces by the incursions of the northern nations. The beast hath 'seven heads and ten horns,' which are the well known marks and signals of the Roman empire, the 'seven heads' alluding to the seven mountains whereon Rome was situated, and to the seven forms of government which successively prevailed there, and the 'ten horns' signifying the ten kingdoms into which the Roman empire was divided. It is remarkable, that the dragon had 'seven crowns upon his heads,' but the beast hath 'upon his horns ten crowns;' so that there had been in the mean while a revolution of power from the *heads* of the dragon to the *horns* of the beast, and the sovereignty which before was exercised by Rome alone, was now transferred and divided among ten kingdoms: but the Roman empire was not divided into ten kingdoms, till after it was become Christian. Although the heads had lost their crowns, yet they still retained the name of blasphemy.* In all its heads, in all its forms of governments, Rome was still guilty of idolatry and blasphemy. Imperial Rome was called, and delighted to be called, * *the eternal city, the heavenly city, the goddess of the earth, the goddess*; and had her temples and altars with incense and sacrifices offered up to her: and how the papal Rome likewise

* *Urbem æternam.* Ammian. Marcell. Lib. 14. Cap. 6. p. 19. Edit. Valesii. Paris. 1681. *Urbis ab æternæ, &c.* Ausonii. Epigram. 3. de Fastis. *ὑπερβολὴ Περμῆ.* Athenaci Lib. 1. p. 20. Edit. Casaubon. *Terrarum dea, gentiumque Roma, Cui par est nihil, secundum.*

likewise hath arrogated to herself divine titles and honours, there will be a fitter occasion of shewing in the following part of this description.

As Daniel's fourth beast, vii. 6. was without a name, and 'devoured and brake in pieces' the three former: so this beast, ver. 2. is also without a name, and partakes of the nature and qualities of the three former, having 'the body of a leopard,' which was the third beast or Grecian empire, and 'the feet of a bear,' which was the second beast or Persian empire, and 'the mouth of a lion,' which was the first beast or Babylonian empire: and consequently this must be the same as Daniel's fourth beast, or the Roman empire. But still is not this the same beast, the same empire entirely, but with some variation; and * the dragon gave him his power' *δυναμιν* or his armies, 'and his seat' *θρονον* or his imperial throne, 'and great authority' or jurisdiction over all the parts of his empire. 'The beast' therefore is the successor and substitute of 'the dragon' or of the idolatrous heathen Roman empire: and what other idolatrous power had succeeded to the heathen emperors in Rome, all the world is a judge and a witness. 'The dragon having failed in his purpose

dum. Martial, Lib. 12. Epigram. 8. Ita Romam, orbis caput, tanquam caeleste aliquod numen, seu *terrarum decem gentiumque* Bisbilitano vate dictam, divinis honoribus, templis, sacerdotibus, aedibus, ipso ΘΕΑΞ ΡΩ-ΜΗΣ appellatione, quod plures Graecarum illarum civitatum nummi ostendant, sibi condecorandum existimarunt. Quo autem referendum mihi videtur illud nomen *blasphemie*, quod septem capitibus inscriptum gestasse legitur bestia in sacro Revelationum libro, et quod Hieronymus ac Prosper ad *urbis aeternae* appellationem retulerunt, Romae cum alibi, tum in nummis ejus itidem familiarem. Spanhemii Dissert. Tertia de Praestant. et Usa Numm. Ant. sect. 3. p. 138. Vol. 1.

† Imperium Romano-Papale tunc natum videtur quam papam omnium ecclesiarum caput esse dixit Justinianus. V. Cod. L. 1. T. 1. A. D. 533, et 534. idque non verbo tantum significavit sed missis ad cum episcopis quasi legatis. Id Gregorius I. in fine seculi sexti in episcopos Hispaniae, Galliae, &c. satis superbe exercuit; successores seculi septimi multo etiam magis. In utroque seculo saevitibus papis invalere imaginum cultus, et sanctorum invocatio: nam hic ipse Gregorius litanis inseruit nomen beatæ virginis Mariae. En igitur blasphemias. Seculo octavo A. D. 727. imperium civile Romae, et ducatus, Romani, excommunicato pulsoque imperatore Graeco, arripuit papa (teste Anastasio et Sigonio de Regno Italiae L. 3.) Gregorius II. Interea non orthodoxi, i. e. papis dissentientes, infames, extorres, instabiles, impp. legibus facti sunt. V. Cod. in quo canones aquantur legibus &c. Nonne hæc omnia satis clare præstant *magnam illam bestiam jam prius potestatem a dracone tractam*, &c. Mr Mann's MS.

pose of restoring the old heathen idolatry, delegates his power to the beast,' and thereby introduces a new species of idolatry, nominally different, but essentially the same' the worship of angels and saints instead of the gods and demigods of antiquity.

Another mark whereby the beast was peculiarly distinguished, was, ver. 3. one of his heads as it were wounded to death.' It will appear hereafter, that this head was the sixth head, for 'five were fallen,' xvii. 10. before St John's time: and the sixth head was that of the Cæsars or emperors, there having been before kings, and consuls, and dictators, and decemvirs, and military tribunes with consular authority. The sixth head was 'as it were wounded to death,' when the Roman empire was overturned by the northern nations, and an end was put to the very name of emperor in Momyllus Augustulus: or rather, as the government of the Gothic kings was * much the same with that of the emperors with only a change of the name, this head was more effectually 'wounded to death,' when Rome was reduced to a poor dukedom, and made tributary to the exarchate of Ravenna: and Sigonius, who hath written the best history of these times and of these affairs includes the history of the Gothic kings in his history of *the western empire*. But not only one of his heads was as it were wounded to death, but 'his deadly wound was healed.' If it was the sixth head which was wounded, that wound could not be healed by the rising of the seventh head as interpreters commonly conceive; the same head which was wounded, must be healed: and this was affected by the pope and people of Rome revolting from the exarch of Ravenna, and proclaiming Charles the Great Augustus and emperor of the Romans. Here the wounded imperial head was *healed* again, and hath subsisted ever since. At this time, partly through the pope, and partly through the emperor, supporting and strengthening each other, the Roman name again became formidable: 'and all the world wondered after the beast,' and ver. 4. 'they worshipped the dragon which gave power unto the beast, and they worshipped the beast, saying; Who is like unto the beast? Who is able

*—regnum veteris imperii ex omnia parte simillimum. Sigonius Occidentali Imperio. Lib. 16. Ann. 494.

able to make war with him?' No kingdom or empire was *like* that of the beast, it had not parallel upon earth, and it was in vain for any to *resist* or *oppose* it, it prevailed and triumphed over all; and *all the world* in submitting thus to the religion of the beast, did in effect submit again to the religion of the dragon, it being the old idolatry with only new names. The worshipping of demons and idols is in effect the worshipping of devils.

Wonderful as the beast was, his words and actions, ver. 5—8. are no less wonderful. He perfectly resembles the 'little horn' in Daniel. As the little horn, Dan. vii. 8, 25. hath 'a mouth speaking great things,' and 'spake great words against the most high;' so 'there was given unto the beast a mouth speaking great things,' and he opened his mouth in blasphemy against God.* As the little horn, Dan. vii. 21; 'made war with the saints, and prevailed against them' 'so it was given unto the beast to make war with the saints and to overcome them.' As the little horn prospered, Dan. 25. 'until a time, and times, and the dividing of time,' that is three prophetic years and a half; so 'power was given unto the beast to continue,' to practise and prosper, 'forty and two months,' which is exactly the same portion of time as three years and a half. We see that not only the same images, but almost the same words are employed; and the portraits being so perfectly alike, it might fairly be presumed, if there was no other argument, that they were both drawn for the same person: and having before clearly discovered who sat for the one, we cannot now be at any loss to determine who sat for the other. It is the Roman beast in his last state or under his seventh head: and he hath 'a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies:' and what can be 'greater things and blasphemies,' than the * claims of *universal bishop, infallible judge of all controversies, sovereign of kings and disposer of kingdoms, vicegerent of Christ, and God upon earth!* He hath also 'power' *warfare* 'to continue' or rather to practise, to prevail, and prosper, 'forty and two months.' Some read *warfare warfare*, to make 'war,' not rightly understanding, I suppose, what was meant by *warfare* alone:

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but

* See the Introduction to Barrow's Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy.

but it signifies to *practise*, to *prevail*, and *prosper*, as the words עָשָׂה and *ποιεῖται* are * used by Daniel and the Greek translators. It doth not therefore follow, that the beast is to *continue to exist* for no longer a term, but he is 'to practise, to prosper and prevail forty and two months;' as 'the holy city,' xi. 2. 'is to be trodden under foot of the Gentiles forty and two months,' which are the 1260 days or years of the reign of Antichrist. But if by 'the beast' be understood the Heathen Roman empire, the Heathen Roman empire, instead of subsisting 1260, did not subsist 400 years after the date of this prophecy.

After this general account of the blasphemies and exploits of the beast, there follows a specification of the particulars. 'He opened his mouth in blasphemy against God.' Blasphemy against God may be said to be of two kinds, not only speaking dishonourably of the supreme being, but likewise attributing to the creature what belongs to the Creator, as in idolatry; which is often the sense of the word in scripture; as in Isaiah, lxxv. 7. 'They have burnt incense upon the mountain, and blasphemed me upon the hills: and in several other places. He 'blasphemes the name of God' by assuming the divine titles and honours to himself, and as it is expressed in the Wisdom of Solomon, xiv. 21. 'by ascribing unto stones and stocks the incommunicable name.' He 'blasphemes the tabernacle of God' his temple and his church, by calling true Christians, who are the house of God, schismatics and heretics, and anathematizing them accordingly; or as you may understand it, by perverting the parts dedicated to the worship of saints and angels and glorified saints, by idolatrous worship and impious adoration; and disgraces their acts, and vilifies their memories, by fabulous legends and lying miracles.

So much for his blasphemies nor are his exploits less extraordinary. 'It was given unto him to make war with the saints and to overcome them: And who can make

* רָעָה וְעָשָׂה וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוָה וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוָה וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוָה. et faciet, et prosperabitur, and it practised and prospered. Dan. viii. 12. רָעָה וְעָשָׂה וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוָה וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוָה וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוָה. et faciet, et prosperabitur, et faciet, and shall prosper, and practise, ver. 24. רָעָה וְעָשָׂה וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוָה וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוָה וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוָה. et faciet in eis, et confortabitur, and shall deal ag. inst. ibem, and shall prevail, Dan. xi. 7. רָעָה וְעָשָׂה וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוָה וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוָה וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוָה. et faciet, and he shall do exploits ver. 28. See also ver. 30.

make any computation, or even name any conception of the numbers of pious Christians, who have fallen a sacrifice to the bigotry and cruelty of Rome? Mede upon the place,* hath observed from good authorities, that in the war with the Albigenſes and Waldenſes there periſhed of theſe poor creatures in France alone *a million*. From the firſt institution of the Jeſuits to the year 1480, that is in little more than thirty years, *nine hundred thouſand* orthodox Chriſtians were ſlain. In the Netherlands alone, the Duke of Alva boated, that within a few years he had diſpatched to the amount of *thirty ſix thouſand ſouls*, and theſe all by the hand of the common executioner. In the ſpace of ſcarce thirty years, the inquisition deſtroyed by various kinds of tortures *a hundred and fifty thouſand* Chriſtians. Sanders himſelf confeſſes, that an innumerable multitude of Lollards and Sacramentarians were burnt throughout all Europe, who yet he ſays were not put to death by the pope and biſhops, but by the civil magiſtrates; which perfectly agrees with this prophecy, for of 'the ſecular beaſt' it is ſaid, that he ſhould 'make war with the ſaints, and overcome them.' No wonder that by theſe means he ſhould obtain an univerſal authority 'over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations,' and eſtabliſh his dominion in all the countries of the weſtern Roman empire: and they ſhould not only ſubmit to his decrees, but even adore his perſon, except the faithful few, whoſe names, as citizens of heaven, were inrolled in the registers of life. Let the Romanists boalt therefore that

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theirs

* Prima ejus expeditio incubuit in Albigenſes et Waldenſes, et ſi quo alio nomine tunc appellati ſint veri Chriſti cultores: quorum tanta ſtrages edita fuit ut per Galliam ſolam, ſi P. Perionius in ejus belli hiſtoria recte calculum inſerit, occiſa ſint ad decies centena hominum millia.—Ab origine Jeſuitarum, ad annum 1480, hoc eſt, paulo pluribus quam 30 annis, orthodoxorum poſſeſſa fere millia fuiſſe trucidata, notat Balduinus de Antichriſto. In Belgio ſolo, idque manu ſolum carniſicis, ſavus ille pugil Romanæ ſedis dux Albanus, ad 36 animarum millia, ſe auctore, intra paucos annos ſublata gloriatus eſt. Teſtatur Vergerius, qui optime novit, Inquisitionem, ut vocant, hæreticæ pravitatis vix triginta annorum ſpatio, centum quinquaginta Chriſtianorum millia diverſis afflictionum generibus conſumpſiſſe. Fatetur Sanders inſinitos Lollardos et Sacramentarios in tota Europa ignibus traditos fuiſſe; quos tamen ait ille non a papa et episcopis, ſed a politicis magiſtratibus neci datos fuiſſe. Nimium, ſic juxta prophetiam rem geri oportuit: nam de ſæculari beſtia dicitur, quod ſanctis bellum faceret, eoſque vinceret. Mede, p. 303. 404.

theirs is the *catholic church and universal empire*: this is so far from being any evidence of the truth, that it is the very brand infixed by the Spirit of prophecy.

It was customary with our Saviour, when he would have his auditors pay a particular attention to what he had been saying, to add 'He who hath ears to hear, let him hear.' St John repeats the same admonition at the end of each of the seven epistles to the seven churches of Asia, and here in the conclusion of his description of the beast, ver. 9. 'If any man have an ear, let him hear:' and certainly the description of the beast is deserving of the highest attention upon many accounts, and particularly because the right interpretation of the Apocalyps turneth upon it, as one of its main hinges. It is added by way of consolation to the church, that these enemies of God and of Christ, represented under the character of the beast, shall suffer the law of retaliation, and be as remarkably punished and tormented themselves, as they punished and tormented others, ver. 10. 'he who leadeth into captivity, shall go into captivity; He who killeth with the sword, must be killed with the sword.' Such a promise might administer some comfort; and indeed it would be wanted; for the patience and faith of the saints would be tried to the utmost, during the reign of the beast. 'Here is the patience and the faith of the saints.' Of all the trials and persecutions of the church this would be the most severe, and exceed those of the primitive times both in degree and in duration.

11 And I beheld another beast coming up out of the earth, and he had two horns like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon.

12 And he exerciseth all the power of the first beast before him, and causeth the earth, and them which dwell therein, to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed.

14 And he doeth great

wonders, so that he maketh fire come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of men,

14 And deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by the means of those miracles which he had power to do in the sight of the beast, saying to them that dwell on the earth, that they should make an image to the beast which had the wound

wound by a sword, and did live.

15 And he had power to give life unto the image of the beast that the image of the beast should both speak, and cause that as many as would not worship the image of the beast, should be killed.

16 And he causeth all both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right

hand, or in their foreheads :

17 And that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name.

18 Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast : for it is the number of a man ; and his number is six hundred threescore and six.

From the description of 'the ten horned beast' or Roman state in general, the prophet passeth to that of 'the two-horned beast' or Roman church in particular. 'The beast with ten crowned horns' is the Roman empire as divided into ten kingdoms ; 'the beast with two horns like a lamb, is the Roman hierarchy, or body of the clergy regular and secular. This beast is otherwise called 'the false prophet,' as we shall see in several instances ; than which there cannot be a stronger or plainer argument to prove that false doctors or teachers were particularly designed. For 'the false prophet' no more than 'the beast' is a single man, but a body or succession of men propagating false doctrines, and teaching lies for sacred truths. As the first beast 'rose up out of the sea,' that is, out of the wars and tumults of the world ; so this beast, ver. 11. 'groweth up out of the earth' like plants silently and without noise ; and the greatest prelates have often been raised from monks and men of the lowest birth and parentage. 'He had two horns like a lamb ;' he had, both regular and secular the appearance of a lamb ; he derived his powers from the lamb and pretended to be like the lamb all meekness and mildness. - But he spake as a dragon,' he had a voice of terror like the dragon or Roman emperors, in usurping divine titles and honours, in commanding idolatry ; and in persecuting and slaying the true worshippers of God and faithful servants of Jesus Christ. He is an ecclesiastical person, but intermixeth himself

himself much in civil affairs. He is the prime minister, adviser and mover of 'the first beast,' or the beast before mentioned, ver. 12. 'He exerciseth all the power of the first beast before him.' He holdeth *imperium in imperio*, an empire within an empire; claimeth a temporal authority as well as a spiritual; hath not only the principal direction of the temporal powers, but often engageth them in his service, and enforceth his canons and decrees with the sword of the civil magistrate. As the first beast concurs to maintain his authority, so he in return confirms and maintains the sovereignty and dominion of the first beast over his subjects; 'and causeth the earth, and them who dwell therein, to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed.' He supports tyranny as he is by tyranny supported. He inflaves the consciences, as the first beast subjugates the bodies of men. Mr Whiston well * observes, "He is the common centre and cement which unites all the distinct kingdoms of the Roman empire; and by joining with them procures them a blind obedience from their subjects: and so he is the occasion of the preservation of the old Roman empire in some kind of unity, and name, and strength; which otherwise had been quite dissolved by the inundations and wars succeeding the settlement of the barbarous nations in that empire."

Such is the power and authority of the beast, and now we shall see what courses he pursues to confirm and establish it. He pretends like other false prophets, ver. 13. to shew 'great signs and wonders' and even to call for 'fire from heaven,' as Elias did. His impostures too are so successful, that ver 14. 'he deceiveth them that dwell on the earth, by the means of those miracles which he hath power to do.' In this respect he perfectly resembles St Paul's 'man of sin,' 2 Thess. ii 9. 'whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness: or rather, they are the one and the same character represented in different lights, and under different names. It is farther observable that he is said to perform his miracles, in the sight of men' in order to deceive them, and 'in the sight of the beast' in order to

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* Whiston's Essay on the Rev. Part 3. Vision 5.

serve him : but not ‘ in the sight of God’ to serve his cause, or promote his religion. Now miracles, visions, and revelations are the mighty boast of the church of Rome : the contrivances of an artful cunning clergy to impose upon an ignorant credulous laity. Even *fire* is pretended to ‘ come down from heaven,’ as in the case of St Anthony’s fire, and other instances cited by * Brightman and other writers on the Revelation ; and in solemn excommunications, which are called the *thunders* of the church, and are performed with the ceremony of casting down burning torches from on high, as symbols and emblems of ‘ fire from heaven.’ Miracles are thought so necessary and essential, that they are reckoned among the notes of the catholic church ; and they are alledged principally in support of purgatory, prayers for the dead, the worship of saints, images, and relics, and the like (as they are called) catholic doctrines. But if these miracles were all real, we learn from hence what opinion we ought to frame of them ; and what then shall we say, if they are all fictions and counterfeits ? They are indeed so far from being any proofs of the true church, that they are rather a proof of a false one ; they are, as we see, the distinguishing mark of Antichrist.

The influence of the two-horned beast or corrupted clergy, is farther seen in persuading and inducing mankind, ver. 14. to ‘ make an image to the beast, which had the wound by a sword and did live ;’ that is, an image and representative of the Roman empire, which was wounded by the sword of the barbarous nations, and revived in the revival of a new emperor of the west. ‘ He had’ also ‘ power,’ ver. 15. ‘ to give life’ and activity ‘ unto the image of the beast. It should not be a dumb and lifeless idol, but should *speak* and deliver oracles, as the statues of the heathen gods were feigned to do, and should ‘ cause to be killed as many as would not worship’ and obey it. Some by this ‘ image of the beast’ † understand “ the rise of the new empire of Charlemain, which was an image of the old Roman empire, and is now become the empire of Germany ;” but this is ‘ the beast’ himself,

* Vide Brightman, et Poli Synops. in locum.

† Limborch. Theol. Christ. Lib. 7. Cap. 11. Sect. 16. Lord Napier in locum. Whiston’s Essay on the Rev. Part. 3. Vision 6.

himself, 'who had the wound by a sword and did live,' and not 'the image of the beast;' the rise of this new empire was the healing of his deadly wound, by which he lived again. Others more probably * conceive, that this 'image of the beast' is 'the office of inquisition, which was introduced among the blind vulgar, as a popular scheme, and warmly recommended by the Dominican and Franciscan monks, at first without any voice of command, or power of execution; till courts were erected independent of bishops; and judges, officers, familiars, prisons, and tormentors were appointed, who should put to exquisite punishments, and deliver over to a cruel death all that would not submit with an implicit obedience:" but the office of inquisition is established only in some particular popish countries, and this belongs and extends to all in general. 'As many as would not worship the image of the beast, the image of the beast should cause to be killed:' but there are many papists who do not receive and own the authority of the inquisition and yet the inquisition doth not attempt to destroy and extirpate all such papists. What appears most probable is, that this *image* and representative 'of the beast' is the pope. He is properly 'the idol' of the church. He represents in himself the whole power of the beast, and is the head of all authority temporal as well as spiritual. He is nothing more than a private person, without power and without authority, till the two-horned beast or the corrupted clergy by choosing him pope *give life* unto him, and enable him to *speak* and utter his decrees, and to 'persecute even to death as many as refuse' to submit to him and 'to worship him.' As soon as he is chosen pope, he is clothed with the pontifical robes, and crowned and placed upon the altar, and the cardinals come and kiss his feet, which ceremony is called *adoration*. They first elect, and then they worship him; as in the † medals of Martin V, where two are represented crowning the pope, and two kneeling before him, with this inscription *Quem creant adorant, Whom they create they adore*. He is the principle of unity to the ten kingdoms of the beast,

and

* Vitting. in locum. Mann's Critical notes on some passages of Scripture, p. 121.

† Bonanni Numismat. Pontific. Romanor. Daubua. p. 382.

and causeth, as far as he is able, all who will not acknowledge his supremacy, to be put to death. In short he is the most perfect likeness and resemblance of the ancient Roman emperors, is as great a tyrant in the Christian world as they were in the Heathen world, presides in the same city, usurps the same powers, affects the same titles, and requires the same universal homage and adoration. So that the prophecy descends more and more into particulars, from the Roman state or ten kingdoms in general, to the Roman church or clergy in particular, and still more particularly to the person of the pope, the head of the state as well as of the church, the king of kings as well as bishop of bishops.

Other offices the false prophet performs to the beast in subjecting all sorts of people to his obedience, by imposing certain terms of communion, and excommunicating all who dare in the least article to dissent from them, ver. 16, 17. 'He causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond,' of whatsoever rank and condition they be, 'to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads : ' And he will not permit any man to 'buy or sell,' or partake of the common intercourses of life, who hath not 'the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name.' We must understand, that it was * customary among the ancients, for servants to receive the mark of their master, and soldiers of their general, and those who were devoted to any particular deity, of the particular deity to whom they were devoted. These marks were usually impressed 'on their right hand or on their foreheads ; ' and consisted of some hieroglyphic characters, or of the name expressed in vulgar letters, or of the name disguised in numerical letters according to the fancy of the imposer. It is in allusion to this ancient practice and custom, that the symbol and profession of faith in the church of Rome, as subserving to superstition, idolatry and tyranny, is called 'the mark or character of the beast ; ' which character is said to be received 'in their forehead,' when they make an open and public declaration of their faith, and 'in their right hand,' when they live and act in conformity to it. If

any

* Vide Grot. in locum. Cleric. in Levit. XIX. 28. et supra omnes Spencerum de Legibus Hebræorum Ritualibus. Lib. 2. Cap. 20. Sect. 1, 3, 4.

any dissent from the stated and authorized forms, they are condemned and excommunicated as heretics; and in consequence of that they are no longer suffered to 'buy or sell;' they are interdicted from traffic and commerce, and all the benefits of civil society. So Roger Hoveden * relates of William the conqueror, that he was so dutiful to the pope, that "he would not permit any one in his power to *buy or sell* any thing, whom he found disobedient to the apostolic see." So the canon of the council of Lateran under Pope Alexander the third, made against the Waldenses and Albigenes, † enjoins upon pain of anathema, that "no man presume to entertain or cherish them in his house or land, or *exercise traffic* with them." The synod of Tours in France under the same pope * orders under the like intermination, that "no man should presume to receive or assist them, no not so much as to hold any communion with them in *selling or buying*, that being deprived of the comfort of humanity, they may be compelled to repent of the error of their way." Pope Martain V, in his bull set out after the council of Constance ‡ commands in like manner, that "they permit not the heretics to have houses in their districts, or enter into contracts or carry on commerce, or enjoy the comforts of humanity with Christians." In this respect, as Mede § observes,

* Ut neminem in sua potestate aliquid *emere aut vendere* permitterit, quem apostolicæ sedis deprehenderit inobedientem. Ex Usserio de success. Eccles. Cap. 7. Sect. 7. apud Vitring. p. 624. et apud Daubuz. p. 599.

† Ne quis eos in domo vel in terra sua tenere, vel sovere, vel *negotiationem* cum iis *exercere* præsumat. Ex Tom. 4. Concil. edit. Rom. A. 1612. p. 37. apud Medum. p. 599. apud Vitring. p. 624. et apud Daubuz. p. 598.

‡ Ne ubi cogniti fuerint illius hæreseos sectatores, receptaculum iis quisquam in terra sua præbere, aut præsidium impertiri præsumat; sed nec in *venditione aut emptione* aliqua cum iis communio habeatur, ut solatio saltem humanitatis amisso, ab errore *vix suæ* rescipiscere cogantur. Ex Usserio de success. Eccles. Cap. 8. Sect. 26. apud Medum et Vitring. et Daubuz. ibid.

§ Ne hereticos in suis districtibus domicilia tenere, contractus facere, negotiationes exercere, aut humanitatis solatia cum Christianis habere permittant. Ex Pareo apud Daubuz. p. 598.

§ Et quid? nonne hic quoque loquitur pseudo propheta *ut draco*? Draco enim Diocletianus simile edictum edidit, ne quis quidquam Christianis venderet aut subministraret, nisi prius thura diis adolevisset: de quo in hymno Justin Martyris ita canit Bedæ;

Non

observes, the false prophet 'spake as the dragon.' For the dragon Diocletian published a like edict, that no one should sell or administer any thing to the Christians, unless they had first burnt incense to the gods, as Bede also rehearseth in the hymn of Justin Martyr; "They had not the power of buying or selling any thing, nor were they allowed the liberty of drawing water itself, before they had offered incense to detestable idols." Popish excommunications are therefore like heathen persecutions: and how large a share the corrupted clergy, and especially the monks of former, and the Jesuits of later times, have had in framing and enforcing such cruel interdicts, and in reducing all orders and degrees to so servile a state of subjection, no man of the least reading can want to be informed.

Mention having been made of 'the number of the beast, or the number of his name,' (for they are both the same), the prophet proceeds to inform us what that number is; leaving us from the number to collect the name, ver. 18. 'Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast.' It is not therefore a vain and ridiculous attempt to search into this mystery, but on the contrary is recommended to us upon the authority of an apostle. 'For it is the number of a man; it is a method of numbering practised among men; as the measure of a man,' xxi. 17. is such a measure as men commonly make use of in measuring. It was a method practised among the ancients, to denote names by numbers, as the * name of *Thouth* or the Egyptian Mercury was signified by the number 1218; the name of Jupiter, as *E Agx* or the beginning of things, by the number 737; and the name of the sun, as *nus* good, or *ins* the author of rain, by the number 608. St Barnabas, the companion of

Non illis emendi quidquam
Aut vendendi copia :
Nec ipsam haurire a quam
Dabatur licentia,
Antequam thurificarent
Detestandis idolis.

Mede, p. 509.

* Vide Martiani Capellae de Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii, Lib. 2. et 7. in init Daubuz, p 605. Selden's Works, Vol. 3. Part 2. Col. 1402. Of the number 666.

of St Paul, in his * epistle discovers in like manner the name of Jesus crucified in the number 318; and other instances might be produced, if there was occasion. It hath been the usual method in all God's dispensations for the Holy Spirit to accommodate his expressions to the customs, fashions, and manners of the several ages. Since then this art and mystery of numbers was so much used among the ancients, it is less wonderful that the beast also should have his number, 'and his number is six hundred and sixty six.' Here only the number is specified; and from the number we must, as well as we can, collect the name. Several names possibly might be cited, which contain this number: but it is evident, that it must be some Greek or Hebrew name; and with the name also the other qualities and properties of the beast must all agree. The name alone will not constitute an agreement; all other particulars must be perfectly applicable, and the name also must comprehend the precise number of 666. No name appears more proper and suitable than that famous one mentioned by Irenæus, who lived not long after St John's time, and was the disciple of Polycarp, the disciple of John. He † saith, that "the name *Lateinos* contains the number of 666; and it is very likely, because the last kingdom is so called, for they are Latins who now reign: but in this we will not glory:" that is, as it becomes a modest and pious man in a point of

Θ — 9	Η — 8	η — 8
ω — 800	Α — 1	υ — 400
υ — 400	ρ — 120	ς — 200
ϑ — 9	χ — 600	
—	η — 8	—
1218	—	608

737

* Vide S. Barnabæ Epist. Cap. 9. Edit. Cotelerii et Clerici. The name of Jesus was wrote thus abbreviated ΙΗΓ, ΙΗ the two first letters of the name. and T as the mark of his cross.

Ι —	10
Η —	8
Τ —	300

318

† Sed et LATEINOS nomen habet sexcentorum sexaginta sex numerum; et valde verisimile est, quoniam dovissimum regnum hoc habet vocabulum. Latini enim sunt qui nunc regnant: sed non in hoc nos gloriabimur. Iren. L. 5. C. 30. p. 449. Ed. Grabe.

of such difficulty, he will not be too confident of his explication, *Lateinos* with *ei* is the true orthography, as the Greeks wrote the long *i* of the Latins, and as the Latins themselves * wrote in former times. No objection therefore can be drawn from the spelling of the name, and the thing agrees to admiration. For after the division of the empire, the Greeks and other orientalists called the people of the western church or church of Rome *Latins*: and as Dr Henry Moore † expresseth it, they *latinize* in every thing. Mass, prayers, hymns, litanies, canons, decretals, bulls are conceived in Latin. The papal councils speak in Latin. Women themselves pray in Latin. Nor is the scripture read in any other language under popery, than Latin. Wherefore the council of Trent commanded the vulgar Latin to be the only authentic version. Nor do their doctors doubt to prefer it to the Hebrew and Greek text itself, which was written by the prophets and apostles. In short all things are Latin; the pope having communicated his language to the people under his dominion, as the mark and character of his empire. They themselves indeed choose rather to be called Romans, and more absurdly still *Roman Catholics*; and probably the apostle, as he hath made use of some Hebrew names in this book, as *Abaddon*, ix. 11. and *Armageddon*, xvi. 16. so might in this place likewise allude to the name in the Hebrew language. Now *Romiith* is the ‡ Hebrew name for the *Roman beast* or *Roman kingdom*: and this word, as well as the former word *Lateinos*, contains

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P

tains

* So Ennius Lib. VI. 26.

Quorum virtutes belli fortuna pepercit,

Horundem me libertate parcere certum est:

and there are infinite examples besides.

† Moore's Mystery of iniquity. Part 2 B. 1. Chap. 15. Sect. 1. et Petri Molinæ Vates. p. 500. &c. Massa, preces, hymni, litaniz, canones, decreta, bullæ, Latine conceptæ sunt. Concilia papalia Latine loquuntur. Ipsæ mulierculæ precantur Latine. Nec alio sermone scriptura legitur sub papismo quam Latine. Quapropter Concilium Tridentinum iussit solam versionem vulgatam Latinam esse authenticam Nec dubitant doctores eam præferre ipsi textui Hebræico et Græcæ, ab ipsis apostolis et prophetis exharato. Denique sunt omnia Latina: nempe Papi populi a se subactis dedit suam linguam, ut si imperii nam characterem

‡ רומי *Romi* masc. רומיית *Romiith* fem. to agree with רומי *beast* or *kingdom*. תלכות

tains the just and exact number of 666. It is really surprising that there should be such a fatal coincidence in both names in both languages. Mr Pyle * asserts, and I believe he may assert very truly, that "no other word in any language whatever, can be found to express both the same *number*, and the same *thing*."

C H A P. XIV.

1 **A**ND I looked, and lo, a Lamb stood on the mount Sion, and with him an hundred forty *and* four thousand, having his Father's name written in their foreheads.

2 And I heard a voice from heaven, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of a great thunder: and I heard the voice of harpers harping with their harps:

3 And they sung as it were a new song before the throne, and before the four beasts, and before the elders;

and no man could learn that song, but the hundred and forty *and* four thousand, which were redeemed from the earth.

4 These are they which were not defiled with women; for they are virgins: these are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth; these were redeemed from among men, *being* the first fruits unto God, and to the Lamb.

5 And in their mouth was found no guile; for they are without fault before the throne of God.

After this melancholy account of the rise and reign of the beast the Spirit of prophecy delineates by way of opposition, the state of the true church during the same period, its struggles and contests with the beast, and the judgments

A	—	30
A	—	1
T	—	300
E	—	5
I	—	10
N	—	50
O	—	70
S	—	200
<hr/>		

666

7	—	200
7	—	6
B	—	40
'	—	10
'	—	10
n	—	400
<hr/>		

666

* See Pyle's Paraphrase, p. 104.

judgments of God upon its enemies. Our Saviour is seen, ver. 1. as the true *Lamb* of God, not only with horns like a lamb, 'standing on the mount Sion,' the place of God's true worship; 'and with him an hundred forty and four thousand,' the same select number that was mentioned before, vii. 4. the genuine offspring of the twelve apostles apostolically multiplied, and therefore the number of the church, as 666 is the number of the beast; and as the followers of the beast have the number of the beast, so these have 'the name of God,' and as some copies add 'of Christ, written in their foreheads,' being his professed servants, and the same as 'the witnesses, only represented under different figures. The angels and heavenly quire, ver. 2. 3. with loud voices and instruments of music sing the same 'new song' or Christian song that they sung before: Chap. v. 'and no man could learn that song, but the hundred and forty and four thousand; they alone are the worshippers of the one true God through the one true mediator Jesus Christ; all the rest of mankind offer up their devotions to other objects, and through other mediators. 'These are they which were not defiled with women: for they are virgins;' ver. 4. they are pure from all the stains and pollutions of spiritual whoredom or idolatry, with which the other parts of the world are miserably debauched and corrupted. These are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth; they adhere constantly to the religion of Christ in all conditions and in all places, whether in adversity or prosperity, whether in conventicles and deserts, or in churches or cities. 'These were redeemed from among men,' rescued from the corruption of the world, and are consecrated as 'the first fruits unto God and the Lamb,' an earnest and assurance of a more plentiful harvest in succeeding times. 'And in their mouth was found no guile;' ver. 5. they 'handle not the word of God deceitfully,' they preach the sincere doctrine of Christ, they are as free from hypocrisy as from idolatry; 'for they are without fault before the throne of God,' they resemble their blessed Redeemer, 'who, 1 Pet. ii. 22. did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth;' and are, as the apostle requires Christians to be, Philip. ii. 15. 'blameless and harmless, the sons of

God without rebuke in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation. But possibly it may be asked, Where did such a church ever exist, especially before the Reformation : and it may be replied that it hath not existed only in idea ; history demonstrates, as it hath been before evinced, that there have in every age been some true worshippers of God, and faithful servants of Jesus Christ ; and as Elijah did not know the seven thousand men who had never bowed the knee to Baal, so there may have been more true Christians than were always visible.

6 And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people.

7 Saying with a loud

voice, Fear God, and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgment is come : and worship him that made heaven and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters.

Such is the nature and character of the true Christian church in opposition to the wicked Antichristian kingdom ; and three principal efforts have been made towards a reformation at three different times, represented by three angels appearing one after another. ' Another angel,' ver. 6. besides those who were employed in singing, ver. 3. is seen ' flying in the midst of heaven,' and ' having the everlasting gospel to preach unto every nation and people ; so that during this period the gospel should still be preached which is styled ' the everlasting gospel,' being like its divine Author, Heb. xiii. 8. ' the same yesterday, and to day, and for ever,' in opposition to the novel doctrines of the beast and the false prophet, which, Matt. xv. 13. ' shall be rooted up as plants not of the heavenly Father's planting.' This angel is farther represented, ver. 7. ' saying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgment is come.' Prophecy mentions things as come, which will certainly come : and so our Saviour said, John xii. 32. ' Now is the judgment of this world ;' it is denounced with certainty now, and in due time will be fully executed. But what this angel more particularly

particularly recommends, is the worship of the great Creator of the universe; 'Worship him that made heaven and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters.' It is a solemn, and emphatic exhortation to forsake the reigning idolatry and superstition, and such exhortations were made even in the first and earliest times of the beast.

Besides several of the Greek emperors who strenuously opposed the worship of images, Charlemain himself * held a council at Francfort in the year 794, consisting of about 300 French, and German, and Italian, and Spanish, and British bishops, who condemned all sort of adoration or worship of images, and rejected the second council of Nice, which had authorised and established it. At the same time *the Caroline books*, as they are called, four books written by Charles himself or by his authority, proving the worship of images to be contrary to the scripture and to the doctrine and practice of antiquity, were approved by the council, and transmitted to the pope. Lewis the Pious, the son and successor of Charles, † held a council at Paris in the year 824, which ratified the acts of the council of Francfort and the Caroline books, and affirmed that according to the scripture and the fathers, adoration was due to God alone. Several private persons also taught and asserted the same scriptural doctrines. Claud, bishop of Turin, ‡ declares that "we are not commanded to go to the creature, that we may be made happy, but to the Creator himself: and therefore we should not worship dead men; they are to be imitated, not to be adored: let us together with the angels worship one God." Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, § wrote a whole book against

* Fred. Spanhemii Hist. Christian. Saec. 8. Cap. 7 et 9. Dupin. Bib. Ecclesiast. Tom. 6. passim. Voltair's Annals of the Empire. Ann. 794.

† Spanhem. ibid. Saec. 9. Cap. 12. Sect. 2 et Hist. Imag. Rest. Sect. 9. Dupin. ibid. Tom. 7. Chap. 1.

‡ Non jubemur ad creaturam tendere, ut efficiamur beati, sed ad ipsum creatorem. et ideo non sit nobis religio cultus hominum mortuorum; honorandi sunt propter imitationem, non adorandi propter religionem: Unum cum angelis colamus Deum. Apud Spanhem ibid. Saec. 9. Cap. 9. Sect. 7. Vide etiam Dupin. ibid. et Cave Hist. Litt. ad ann. 820.

§ Angeli, vel homines sancti, amenti honorentur, claritate non servitute: Non ponamus spem nostram in homine, sed in Deo, ne forte

gainst images, and says that "angels or saints may be loved and honoured, but not be served and worshipped: let us not put our trust in man, but in God, lest that prophetic denunciation should redound on us, *Cursed is the man, who trusteth in man.*" Many other * bishops and writers of Britain, Spain, Italy, Germany, and France, professed the same sentiments; and this public opposition of emperors and bishops to the worship of saints and images in the eighth and ninth centuries, appear to be meant particularly by the loud voice of this first 'angel flying aloft,' and calling upon the world 'to worship God.' In another respect too these emperors and bishops resemble this 'angel having the everlasting gospel to preach unto every nation;' for in their time, and greatly by their means, † the Christian religion was propagated and established among the Saxons, Danes, Swedes, and many other northern nations.

8 And there followed another angel, saying, Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city, because she made all nations drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication.

As the admonitions of the first angel had not the proper effect upon the kingdom of the beast, the second angel is commissioned to proclaim the fall of the capital city, ver. 8. 'And there followed another angel, saying, Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city.' By *Babylon* was meant *Rome*, as all authors of all ages and countries agree; but it was not prudent to denounce the destruction of *Rome* in open and direct terms: it was for many wise reasons done covertly under the name of *Babylon*, which was the great idolatress of the earth, and enemy of the people of God, in former, as *Rome* hath been in latter times. By the same figure of speech, that the first angel cried that 'the hour of his judgment is come,' this second

forte redundet in nos illud propheticum maledictus homo qui confidit in homine. Lib. de Imag. Cap. 30. apud Spanhem. ibid. Vide etiam Dupin. ibid. Cave ibid. an Ann. 813.

* Spanhem. ibid. Sect. 3. Usserius de Eccles. Christian. successionem et statu. Cap. 2. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient churches of the Albigenes. Cap. 8 et 9.

† Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 2.

cond angel proclaims that 'Babylon is fallen;' the sentence is as certain, as if it was already executed. For greater certainty too it is repeated twice 'Babylon is fallen, is fallen;' as Joseph said, Gen. xli. 32. 'that the dream was doubled unto Pharaoh twice, because the thing is established by God, and God will shortly bring it to pass.' The reason then is added of this sentence against Babylon, 'because she made all nations drink of the wine of her wrath,' or rather 'of the inflaming wine of her fornication.' Her's was a kind of a Circean cup with poisoned liquour to intoxicate and inflame mankind to spiritual fornication. St John in these figures copies the ancient prophets. In the same manner, and in the same words, did Isaiah foretel the fate of ancient Babylon, xxi. 9. 'Babylon is fallen, is fallen:' and Jeremiah hath assigned much the same reason for her destruction, li. 7. 'Babylon hath been a golden cup in the Lord's hand, that made all the earth drunken: the nations have drunken of her wine; therefore the nations are mad.' As by the first angel calling upon men to worship God, we understand the opposers of the worship of images in the eighth and ninth centuries, so by this second angel proclaiming the fall of mystic Babylon or Rome, we understand particularly * Peter Valdo and those who concurred with him in the Waldenses and Albigenes; who were the first heralds, as I may say, of this proclamation, as they first of all in the twelfth century pronounced the church of Rome to be the apocalyptic 'Babylon, the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth;' and for this cause not only departed from her communion themselves, but engaged great numbers also to follow their example, and laid the first foundation of the reformation. Rome then began to fall; and as the ruin of Babylon was completed by degrees, so likewise will that of Rome, and these holy confessors and martyrs first paved the way to it.

9 And

* Mede p. 517, 722. &c. Fred. Spanhem. Hist. Christian. Sæc. 12. Cap. 6.—recessisse a doctrina et praxi recepta Romanæ ecclesiæ, nuncupasse eam *Babylonem*, ac confusiones omnis matris; &c. Sect. 4. Thuani Hist. Lib. 9. Cap. 16. Eorum hæc dogmata ferebantur; Ecclesiam Romanam, quoniam veræ Christi fidei renunciaverit, *Babylonicam meretricem* esse &c. p. 221. Edit. Buckley.

9 And the third angel followed them, saying with a loud voice, If any man worship the beast, and his image, and receive his *mark* in his forehead, or in his hand,

10 The same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation; and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone, in the presence of the Lamb:

11 And the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever, they have

no rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name.

12 Here is the patience of the saints; here *are* they, that keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus.

13 And I heard a voice from heaven, saying unto me, Write, Blessed *are* the dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth, Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours, and their works do follow them.

But not only the capital city, not only the principal agents and promoters of idolatry shall be destroyed; the commission of the third angel reached farther, and extends to all the subjects of the beast, whom he consigns over to everlasting punishment, ver. 9, 10, 11. 'And the third angel followed them, saying with a loud voice, If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead or in his hand,' if any man embrace and profess the religion of the beast, or what is the same the religion of the pope; 'the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, *or rather* of the poisonous wine of God.' His punishment shall correspond with his crime. As he drank of the 'poisonous wine' of Babylon, so he shall be made to drink of 'the poisonous wine' of God, *τὸ οἶνον τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ ἀγίου*, which is poured out without mixture, *or rather* which is mixt unmixt, the poisonous ingredients being stronger when mixt with mere or unmixt wine, 'in the cup of his indignation; and he shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever.' By this 'third angel following the others with a loud voice' we understand principally Martin Luther and his fellow-reformers, who 'with a loud voice' protested against all the corruptions of the church of Rome, and declared them to be destructive

tive of salvation to all who obstinately continue in the practice and profession of them. This would be a time of great trial, ver. 12. 'Here is the patience of the saints; here are they who keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus.' And it is very well known, that this was a time of great trial and persecution; the Reformation was not introduced and established without much bloodshed; there were many martyrs in every country. But they are comforted with a solemn declaration from heaven, ver. 13. 'And I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, from henceforth,' if they die in the faith and obedience of Christ, and more especially if they die martyrs for his sake: 'Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours,' for immediately upon their deaths they enter into rest; and their works do follow them,' they enjoy now some recompence, and in due time, at the day of judgment, they shall receive the full reward of their good works. It is most probable that St John alluded to a passage in Isaiah, where the Spirit hath made the like declaration; lvii. 1, 2. 'The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart; and merciful men are taken away, none considering that the righteous is taken away from the evil to come: He shall enter into peace: they shall rest in their beds, each one walking in his uprightness.' But the greatest difficulty of all is to account for the words 'from henceforth:' for why should 'the blessedness of the dead who die in the Lord' be restrained to this time, and commence from this period rather than from any other, when they are at all times and in all periods equally blessed, and not more since this time than before? Commentators here are very much at a loss, and offer little or nothing that is satisfactory: but the difficulty in great measure ceases, if we apply this prophecy, as I think it should be applied to the Reformation. For from that time, though the 'blessedness of the dead who die in the Lord' hath not been enlarged, yet it hath been much better understood, more clearly *written* and promulgated than it was before, and the contrary doctrine of purgatory hath been exploded and banished from the belief of all reasonable men. This truth was moreover one of the leading principles of the Reformation.

mation. What first provoked Luther's spirit was the scandalous sale of indulgences; and the doctrine of indulgences having a close connection with the doctrine of purgatory, the refutation of the one naturally led him to the refutation of the other; and his * first work of reformation with his 95 theses or positions against indulgences, purgatory and the dependent doctrines. So that he may be said literally to have fulfilled the command from heaven, of 'writing, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth:' and from that time to this, this truth hath been so clearly asserted, and so solidly established that it is likely to prevail for ever.

A learned and ingenious friend refers these three proclamations of the three angels to later times, and supposes that they are an immediate prelude to the fall of Antichrist and the millennium. But the clue that has principally conducted me through both parts of the Revelation is following the series of history and the successive order of events. After the description of the two beasts, secular and ecclesiastical, whose power was established according to my hypothesis in the eighth century, but according to most commentators much sooner, there would be a very large chasm without the prediction of any memorable events, if these prophecies relate to the time immediately preceding the fall of Antichrist and the millennium. What a long interval would that be without any prophecy? and how thick would the events follow afterward? for all the particulars not only of this 14th, but likewise of the 16th, 18th, and 19th chapters must be fulfilled before the commencement of the millennium. I can hardly frame, even in imagination, and events which can answer more exactly to these proclamations of the three angels than the three principal efforts towards a reformation. Charlemain, Valdo, Luther, and their followers, certainly deserve as exalted characters as are here given them: and it would be very strange that there should be so many prophecies relating to the downfall of popery, and yet none concerning the Reformation. He conceives that the church cannot be represented in such

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* Sleiden's Hist. of the Reform. B. 2. Ann. 1517. Father Paul's Hist. of the Council of Trent. B. 1. Sect. 18. Spanhem. Hist. Christianæ Sac. 16. Cap. 6. Sect. 1.

an attitude of triumph and jubilation, as it is in the former part of this chapter, while it is afflicted and persecuted during the reign of the beast. But the church of this period is not drawn in such an attitude of triumph and jubilation as he imagines; there are some intimations of its suffering persecution in this very chapter: and if it was as he imagines, yet why may not the true church be represented like the apostles and primitive Christians as 'sorrowful yet always rejoicing,' as 'rejoicing in tribulation,' as 'exceeding joyful in tribulation,' &c.? He farther conceives, that the dead are 'blessed from henceforth because they will remain a shorter time in the separate state, and be sooner raised again. But why then is not that reason assigned but quite different ones, 'that they may rest from their labours, and their works do follow them? These are reasons which hold equally good at all times, and cannot be restrained and limited to any particular time: and therefore I conceive that the words 'from henceforth' relate not so much to the 'blessedness of the dead,' which is always the same, as to the *writing* and promulgating of this doctrine by Luther and the protestant reformers.

14 And I looked, and behold, a white cloud, and upon the cloud *one* sat, like unto the Son of man, having on his head a golden crown, and in his hand a sharp sickle.

15 And another angel came out of the temple, crying with a loud voice to him that sat on the cloud, Thrust in thy sickle, and reap: for the time is come for thee to reap; for the harvest of the earth is ripe.

16 And he that sat on the cloud, thrust in his sickle on the earth; and the earth was reaped.

17 And another angel came out of the temple which is in heaven, he also having a sharp sickle.

18 And another angel came out from the altar, which had power over fire; and cried with a loud cry to him that had the sharp sickle, saying, Thrust in thy sharp sickle, and gather the clusters of the vine of the earth for her grapes are fully ripe.

19 And the angel thrust in his sickle into the earth, and gathered the vine of the earth, and cast it into the great wine-press of the wrath

wrath of God.

20 And the wine-press the wine-press, even unto the horse bridles, by the was trodden without the ci- space of a thousand and six ty, and blood came out of hundred furlongs.

But still the voices of these three warning angels not having their due influence and effect, the judgments of God will overtake the followers and adherents of the beast, which judgments are represented under the figures of *harvest* and *vintage*, ver. 14—20 figures not unusual in the prophets, and copied particularly from the prophet Joel, who denounced God's judgments against the enemies of his people in the like terms; iii. 13. 'Put ye in the sickle, for the harvest is ripe; come, get you down, for the press is full, the fats overflow, for their wickedness is great.' What particular events are signified by this *harvest* and *vintage*, it appears impossible for any man to determine, time alone can with certainty discover, for these things are yet futurity. Only it may be observed, that these two signal judgments will as certainly come, as harvest and vintage succeed in their season; and in the course of providence the one will precede the other, as in the course of nature the harvest is before the vintage; and the latter will greatly surpass the former, and be attended with a more terrible destruction of God's enemies. It is said, ver. 20. that 'the blood came even unto the horse-bridles,' which is a strong hyperbolical way of speaking to express vast slaughter and effusion of blood; a way of speaking not unknown to the Jews, for * the Jerusalem Talmud describing the woeful slaughter, which the Roman emperor Adrian made of the Jews, at the destruction of the city of Bitter, saith that "the horses waded in blood up to the nostrils." Nor are similar examples wanting even in the classic authors: for † Sillicus Italicus, speaking of Annibal's descent into Italy, useth a like expression of "the bridles flowing with much blood."

* In Taanith Fol. 69. Col. 1. Lightfoot's Harmony of the N. T. in Locum. Vide etiam Lcha R II 2. Tribus annis cum dimidio obsedit Adrianus Bitterem — nec cessarunt in ea interficientes, donec mergeretur equus in sanguine usque ad os, &c. apud Wertheim locum.

† Sil. Ital. 705.

—multoque fluentia sanguine lora.

blood." The stage where this bloody tragedy is acted, "is without the city, by the space of a thousand and six hundred furlongs," which as Mr Mede † ingeniously observes, is the measure of *stato della chiesa*, or the state of the Roman church, or St Peter's patrimony, which reaching from the walls of Rome unto the river Po and the marshes of Verona, contains the space of 200 Italian miles, which make exactly 1600 furlongs.

CHAP. XV.

1 **A**ND I saw another sign in heaven, great and marvellous, seven angels having the seven last plagues, for in them is filled up the wrath of God.

2 And I saw as it were a sea of glass, mingled with fire; and them that had gotten the victory over the beast, and over his image, and over his mark, and over the number of his name, stand on the sea of glass, having the harps of God.

3 And they sing the songs of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb, saying, Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord, God almighty; just and true are thy ways, thou King of saints.

4 Who shall not fear thee O Lord, and glorify thy name? for thou only art holy: for all nations shall

come and worship before thee; for thy judgments are made manifest.

5 And after that I looked, and behold, the temple of the tabernacle of the testimony in heaven was opened:

6 And the seven angels came out of the temple, having the seven plagues, clothed in pure and white linen, and having their breasts girded with golden girdles.

7 And one of the four beasts gave unto the seven angels, seven golden vials full of the wrath of God, who liveth for ever and ever.

8 And the temple was filled with smoke from the glory of God, and from his power, and no man was able to enter into the temple, till the seven plagues of the seven angels were fulfilled.

VOL. III.

Q

God's

* —In vicino item locus est cui dictus stadium numerus perinde convenit: puta *stato della chiesa*, seu ecclesiae Romanae latifundium quod ab urbe Roma usque ad ultimum Padi osium et Pauludes Veronenses poerigitur spatio milliarum Italicorum ducentarum, id est, stadium 1600. Mede p. 322.

God's judgments upon the kingdom of the beast, or Antichristian empire, are hitherto denounced, and described in general terms under the figures of *harvest* and *vintage*. A more particular account of them follows under the emblem of 'seven vials' which are called, ver. 1. the seven last plagues, for in them is filled up the wrath of God.' These seven last plagues must necessarily fall under the seventh and last trumpet, or the third and last woe-trumpet; so that as the seventh seal contained the seven trumpets, the seventh trumpet comprehends the seven vials. Not only the concinnity of the prophecy requires this order; for otherwise there would be great confusion, and the vials would interfere with the trumpets, some falling under one trumpet, and some under another: but moreover, if these seven last plagues and the consequent destruction of Babylon be not the subject of the third woe, the third woe is no where described particularly as are the two former woes. When four of the seven trumpets had sounded, it was declared, viii. 13. 'Woe, woe woe, to the inhabitants of the earth, by reason of the other voices of the trumpet of the three angels which are yet to sound.' Accordingly at the sound of the *fifth* trumpet, xi. 1. commences the woe of the Saracen or Arabian locusts; and in the conclusion is added, ver. 12. 'One woe is past, and behold, there come two woes more hereafter.' At the sounding of the *sixth* trumpet, ix. 13. begins the plague of the Euphratean horsemen or Turks; and in the conclusion is added, xi. 14. 'The second woe is past, and behold, the third woe cometh quickly.' At the sounding of the *seventh* trumpet therefore, xi. 15, &c. one would naturally expect the description of the 'third woe' to succeed: but as it was before observed, there follows only a short and summary account of the seventh trumpet, and of the joyful rather than of the woeful part of it. A general intimation indeed is given of God's 'taking unto him his great power, and destroying them who destroy the earth:' but the particulars are reserved for this place; and if these last plagues coincide not with the last woe, there are other plagues, and other woes after the last; and how can it be said that, 'the wrath of God is filled up in them,' if there are others besides them? If then these seven last plagues synch. onize with the seventh and last

last trumpet, they are all yet to come; for the sixth trumpet is not yet past, nor the woe of the Turkish or Othman empire yet ended; and consequently there is no possibility of explaining them in such a manner as when the prophecies may be parallel with histories, or evinced by ocular demonstration. The many fruitless attempts which have hitherto been made to explain them, are a farther proof that they cannot well be explained, the best interpreters having failed and floundered in this part more than any other. But before the vials are poured out, the scene opens with a preparatory vision, which is the subject of this chapter.

As seven angels sounded the seven trumpets, so seven angels are appointed to pour out the seven vials, angels being always the ministers of providence; and in order to shew that these judgments are to fall upon the kingdom of the beast, the true worshippers of God and faithful servants of Jesus, who had escaped 'victors from the beast,' *νικῶντες ἐκ τοῦ θηρίου* and had never submitted to his tyranny or religion, are described, ver. 2, 3, 4. like unto the children of Israel after their deliverance and escape out of Egypt. For as the children of Israel, *Exod. xv.* having passed through the Red Sea, stood on the shore, and seeing their enemies overwhelmed with the waters, sung the triumphant song of Moses: so these having passed through the fiery trials of this world, 'stand on the sea of glass mingled with fire,' which was mentioned before, *iv. 6.* and seeing the vials ready to be poured out upon their enemies, sing a song of triumph for the manifestation of the divine judgments; which is called the 'song of Moses and the song of the Lamb,' the words in great measure being taken from the song of Moses and other parts of the Old Testament, and applied in a Christian sense. After this 'the most holy place of the temple' is opened ver. 5. and 'the seven angels come out of the temple,' ver. 6. to denote that their commission is immediately from God, *clothed* like the high priest, but in a more august manner, 'in pure and white linen,' to signify the righteousness of these judgments, 'and having their breasts girded,' to shew their readiness to execute the divine commands, 'with golden girdles,' as emblems of their power and majesty. A vial then is given unto

each of the seven angels, ver. 7. 'by one of the four living creatures,' the representatives of the church; by which it is intimated, that it is the vindication of the church and true religion that these plagues are inflicted. Moreover 'the temple is filled with smoke from the glory of God and from his power,' so that 'no man is able to enter into it; ver. 8. in the same manner as the tabernacle, when it was consecrated by Moses, and the temple when it was dedicated by Solomon, Exod. lx. 34, 35. 1 Kings, viii. 10, 11. were both filled with a cloud and the glory of the Lord, so that neither Moses nor the priests could enter therein: a farther proof of the majestic presence and extraordinary interposition of God in the execution of these judgments.

CHAP. XVI.

I AND I heard a great voice out of the temple, saying to the seven angels, Go your ways and pour out the vials of the wrath of God upon the earth.

In obedience to the divine command, ver. 1. the seven angels come forth 'to pour out the vials of the wrath of God upon the earth:' and as the *trumpets* were so many steps and degrees of the ruin of the Roman empire, so the *vials* are of the ruin of the Roman church. The one in polity and government is the image of the other; the one is compared to the system of the world, and hath her *earth*, and *sea*, and *rivers* and *sun*, as well as the other; and this is the reason of the similitude and resemblance of the judgments in both cases. Some resemblance too there is between these plagues, and those of Egypt. Rome papal hath already, xi. 8. been distinguished by the title of 'spiritual Egypt,' and resembles Egypt in her punishments as well as in her crimes, tyranny, idolatry, and wickedness.

2 And the first went, and poured out his vial upon the earth; and there fell a noisome and grievous sore upon the men which had the mark of the beast, and upon them which worshipped his image.

Vial

Vial the first, ver. 2. is 'poured out upon the earth; and so the hail and fire of the first trumpet, viii. 7. were cast upon the earth.' It produceth 'a noisome and grievous sore;' and in this respect resembleth the sixth plague of Egypt, Exod. ix. 10. which was 'boils breaking forth with blains.' This plague is inflicted 'upon the men who had the mark of the beast, and upon them who worshipped his image; which is to be understood of the others also, where it is not expressed. Whether the *sores* and *ulcers* are natural or moral, the event must shew.

3 And the second angel poured out his vial upon the sea; and it became as the blood of a dead man: and every living soul died in the sea.

4 And the third angel poured out his vial upon the rivers and fountains of waters; and they became blood.

5 And I heard the angel of the waters say, Thou art righteous, O Lord, which

art, and wast, and shall be, because thou hast judged thus:

6 For they have shed the blood of saints and prophets, and thou hast given them blood to drink, for they are worthy.

7 And I heard another out of the altar say, Even so, Lord God almighty, true and righteous are thy judgments.

Vial the second, ver. 3. is 'poured upon the sea,' and the sea becomes 'as the blood of a dead man,' or as congealed blood: and in like manner under the second trumpet, viii. 8. the burning mountain 'was cast into the sea, and the sea became blood.' Vial the third, ver. 4. is 'poured out upon the rivers and fountains of waters, and they became blood: and in like manner under the third trumpet, viii. 10. the burning star 'fell upon the rivers and fountains of waters.' There is a close connection between these two vials; and the effects are similar to the first plague of Egypt, Exod. vii. 19. when 'the waters of Egypt *and* their streams, *and* their rivers, *and* their ponds *and* their pools of water became blood.' *Seas* and 'rivers of blood' manifestly denote great slaughter and devastation: and hereupon, ver. v. 6. 'the angel of the waters,' for it was a prevailing opinion in the east,

that a * particular angel presided over the waters, as others did over other elements and parts of nature; and mention was made before, xiv. 18. of 'the angel who had power over fire;' this angel of the waters celebrates the righteous judgments of God in adapting and proportioning the punishment of the followers of the beast to their crime; for no law is more just and equitable, than that they who have been guilty of 'shedding the blood of saints and prophets,' should be punished in the effusion of their own blood. 'Another angel out of the altar,' ver. 7. for. vi. 9. 'under the altar were the souls of them who were slain for the word of God and for the testimony which they held,' declares his assent in the most solemn manner, 'Even so, Lord God almighty, true and righteous are thy judgments.'

8 And the fourth angel poured out his vial upon the sun; and power was given unto him to scorch men with fire.

9 And men were scorch-

ed with great heat, and blasphemed the name of God, which hath power over these plagues: and they repented not to give him glory.

As the fourth trumpet affected 'the sun;' viii. 12. so likewise the fourth vial, ver. 8, 9. is 'poured out upon the sun.' An intense heat ensues; 'and men blaspheme the name of God, and repent not to give him glory.' Whether by this intense heat of the sun, be meant literally uncommon sultry seasons, scorching and withering the fruits of the earth, and producing pestilential fever and inflammations; or figuratively, a most tyrannical and exorbitant exercise of arbitrary power by those who may be called 'sun' in the firmament by the beast, the pope or emperor; time must discover. Men shall be tormented, and complain grievously; they shall like the rebellious Jews, II. xiii. 21. 'fret themselves, and curse their kings, and their God, and look upward,' look upward not to pray but only to blaspheme; they shall not have the sense or courage to repent, and forsake their idolatry and wickedness. When the events shall take place, and these things shall

* Imo Persæ existiant peculiari angelo demandatum esse tueri aquas. &c. Hyde de Relig. Vet. Persarum, Cap. 6. p. 139. Vide etiam Cap. 19.

shall all be fulfilled, not only these prophecies of the vial; shall be better understood, but also those of the trumpets, to which they bear some analogy and resemblance.

10 And the fifth angel poured out his vial upon the seat of the beast; and his kingdom was full of darkness, and they gnawed their tongues for pain,

11 And blasphemed the God of heaven, because of their pains and their sores, and repented not of their deeds.

* Vial the fifth, ver. 10, 11. is 'poured out upon the seat or throne of the beast, and his kingdom becomes full of darkness,' as Egypt did, Exod. x. 21. under her ninth plague. This is some great calamity which shall fall upon Rome itself, and shall *darken* and confound the whole Antichristian empire. But still the consequences of this plague are much the same as those of the foregoing one; for the sufferers, instead of 'repenting of their deeds,' are hardened like Pharaoh, and will persist in their blasphemy and idolatry, and obstinately withstand all attempts of reformation.

12 And the sixth angel poured out his vial upon the great river Euphrates; and the water thereof was dried up, that the way of the kings of the east might be prepared.

13 And I saw three unclean spirits like frogs come out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false prophet.

13 For they are the spirits of devils, working mi-

racles, which go forth unto the kings of the earth, and of the whole world, to gather them to the battle of that great day of God Almighty.

15 Behold, I come as a thief. Blessed is he that watcheth, and keepeth his garments, lest he walk naked, and they see his shame.

16 And he gathered them together, into a place called in the Hebrew tongue, Armageddon.

Vial the sixth, ver. 12. is 'poured out upon the great river Euphrates, and the water thereof is dried up,' to prepare a passage 'for the kings of the east.' Whether by *Euphrates* be meant the river so called, or only a mys-

tic Euphrates, as Rome is mystic *Babylon*; and whether 'by the kings of the east' be meant the Jews in particular, or any eastern potentates in general; can be matters only of conjecture, and not of certainty and assurance till the event shall make the determination. Whoever they be, they appear to threaten the ruin and destruction of the kingdom of the beast: and therefore * the agents and emissaries of popery, ver. 13. 14. 'of the dragon,' the representative of the devil, 'and of the beast,' the representative of the antichristian empire, and of the false prophet,† the representative of the antichristian church, as disagreeable, as loquacious, as sordid, as impudent † as frogs, are employed to oppose them, and stir up the princes and potentates of their communion to make their united and last effort in a religious war. Of necessity these must be times of great trouble and affliction; so that an exhortation is inserted, ver. 15. by way of parenthesis, of the *suddenness* of these judgments, and of the *blessedness* of *watching*, and of being *clothed* and prepared for all events. Bza conceives that this verse was transferred hither from the 3d chapter, where it should be subjoined to the 18th verse: but the 3d chapter and 16th chapter are at too great a distance for such a transposition to be made. However it is certain that this insertion hath in some measure disturbed the sense, and broken the connexion of the discourse; for our translators as well as several others render the following words, ver. 16. 'And he gathered them together,' when the true construction is, 'And they gathered them together,' the evil spirits and agents before-mentioned gather all the forces of the popish princes together, 'into a place called in the Hebrew tongue *Armageddon*,' that is the 'mountain of destruction.'

17 And the seventh angel poured out his vial into the air; and there came a great voice out of the temple of heaven, from the	throne, saying, It is done.
18 And there were voices, and thunders, and lightnings; and there was a great earthquake, such as	was

* The *three unclean spirits like frogs* Mr Mann conceives to be the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jesuits. *Dominicani, Franciscani, et Loyalisti tres impures spiritus ranis similes non male referunt, M. S.*

† Vide Bocharti Hieroz. Part. Post. Lib. 5. Cap. 4.

was not since men were upon the earth, so mighty an earthquake and so great.

19 And the great city was divided into three parts; and the cities of the nations fell: and great Babylon came in remembrance before God, to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath.

20 And every island fled away, and the mountains were not found.

21 And there fell upon man a great hail out of heaven, every stone about the weight of a talent: and men blasphemed God because of the plague of the hail; for the plague thereof was exceeding great.

Vial the seventh, ver. 17. is 'poured out into the air,' the seat of Satan's residence, who is emphatically styled Eph. ii. 2. 'the prince of the power of the air,' and is represented, ver. 13. as a principal actor in these latter scenes; so that this last period will not only complete the ruin of the kingdom of the beast, but will also shake the kingdom of Satan every where. Upon the pouring out of this vial a solemn proclamation is made 'from the throne' of God himself. 'It is done;' in the same sense as the angel before affirmed, x. 7. that in the days of the seventh trumpet the mystery of God should be finished.' Of this vial, as indeed of all the former, the completion is gradual; and the immediate effects and consequences are, ver. 18—21. 'voices and thunders, and lightnings, and an earthquake, and great hail. These portend great calamities. 'Voices, and thunders, and lightnings, are the usual attendants of the Deity, especially in his judgments. 'Great earthquakes' in prophetic language signify great changes and revolutions; and this is such an one as men never felt and experienced before, 'such as was not since men were upon the earth.' Not only 'the great city is divided into three parts' or factions, but 'the cities of the nations fall' from their obedience to her. Her sins are remembered before God, and like another *Babylon* she will soon be made to drink of the bitter cup of his anger. Nay not only the works of men, 'the cities fall;' but even the works of nature, 'the islands fly away, and the mountains are not found;' which is more than was said before, vi. 14. that they 'were moved out of their places,' and can import no less than utter ex-

irruption of idolatry. * Great hail' too often signifies the judgments of God, and these are uncommon judgments. Diodorus, a grave historian *, speaketh of hailstones, which weighed a pound and more; Philostorgius mentions hail that weighed eight pounds; but these are 'about the weight of a talent,' or about a hundred pounds, a strong figure to denote the greatness and severity of those judgments. But still the men continue obstinate, 'and blaspheme God because of the plague of the hail;' they remain incorrigible under the divine judgments, and shall be destroyed before they will be reformed.

CHAP. XVII.

As the 'seventh seal,' and the 'seventh trumpet,' contained many more particulars, than any of the former seals, and former trumpets: so the 'seventh vial' contains more than any of the former vials: and the more you consider, the more admirable you will find the structure of this book in all its parts. The destruction of the Antichristian empire is a subject of such importance and consequence, that the Holy Spirit hath thought fit to represent it under variety of images. Rome hath already been characterized by the names of 'spiritual Egypt and Babylon: *' and having seen how her plagues resemble those of *Egypt*, we shall now see her fall compared to that of *Babylon*. It was declared before in general, xiv. 8. 'Babylon is fallen, is fallen; but this is a catastrophe deserving of a more particular description, both for a warning to some and for a consolation to others. But before the description of her fall and destruction, there is premised an account of her state and condition, that there may be no mistake in the application. Rome was meant, as all both † papists and protestants agree; and I think it appears almost to demonstration, that not Pagan but Christian,

μύς. Et magnitudinis incredibilis grando: minæ enim ponde, et quandoque majores, deciderant. Diodorus Sic. Lib. 19. de Rhodiorum diluvio p. 695. Edit. Steph. p. 689. Edit. Rhodomani. Philost. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 11, Cap. 7.

* Certissimum est nomine Babylonis Roman urbem significari. Baronius ad Ann. 45. Johannes in Apocalypsi passim Romanam vocat Babylonem—Et aperte colligitur ex Cap. Apocalypsis Bellarmin. de Rom Pontif. Lib. 3. Cap. 13. &c. &c. &c.

lian, not imperial but papal Rome was here intended ; and the arguments urged to the contrary by the bishop of Meaux himself, the best and ablest advocate for popery, prove nothing so much as the weakness and badness of the cause, which they are brought to defend.

1 **A**ND there came one of the seven angels which had the seven vials, and talked with me, saying unto me, Come hither, I will shew unto thee the judgment of the great whore, that sitteth upon many waters :

2 With whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication.

3 So he carried me away in the spirit into the wilderness ; and I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet-coloured beast, full of names and blasphemy, having seven heads, and ten horns.

4 And the woman was

arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and decked with gold and precious stone and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand full of abominations and filthiness of her fornication.

5 And upon her forehead was a name, written MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS, AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH.

6 And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus : and when I saw her, I wondered with great admiration.

' One of the seven angels, who had the seven vials,' v. 1. calleth to St John. Most probably this was, the seventh angel ;' for under the seventh vial ' great Babylon came in remembrance before God,' and now St John is called upon to see her condemnation and execution. ' Come hither, I will shew unto thee the judgment of the great whore, that sitteth upon many waters. So ancient Babylon, which was seated upon the great river Euphrates is described by Jeremiah, li. 13. as ' dwelling upon many waters : and from thence the phrase is borrowed, and signifies, according to the angels own explanation, ver. 15. ruling over many peoples and

and nations. Neither was this an ordinaray prostitute ; she was ' the great whore,' ver. 2. ' with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication : ' as Tyre, II. xxiii. 17. ' committed fornication with all the kingdoms of the world upon the face of the earth.' Nay, not only ' the kings, but inferior persons, ' the inhabters of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication ; ' as it was said of ancient Babylon, Jer. li. 7. ' the nations have drunken of her wine, therefore the nations are mad.' *Fornication* in the usual stile of scripture is idolatry ; but if it be taken even literally, it is true that modern Rome openly allows the one, as well as practises the other. Ancient Rome doth in no respect so well answer the character ; for she ruled more with a rod of iron, than with ' the wine of her fornication.' What, and where were the kings, whom she courted and debauched to her communion ! What, and where were the people, whom she inveigled and intoxicated with her idolatry ? Her ambition was for extending her empire, and not her religion. She permitted even the conquered nations to continue in the religion of their ancestors, and to worship their own gods after their own rituals. She may be said rather to have been corrupted by the importation of foreign vices and superstitions, than to have established her own in other countries.

As Ezekiel, while he was a captive in Chaldea, was conveyed by the spirit to Jerusalem, Ezek. viii. 3. so St John, ver. 3. ' is carried away in the spirit into the wilderness ; ' for there the scene is laid, being a scene of desolation. When the woman, the true church, was persecuted and afflicted, she was said, xii. 14. ' to fly into the wilderness : ' and in like manner, when the woman, the false church, is to be destroyed, the vision is presented ' in the wilderness.' For they are by no means, as some have imagined, the same woman under various representations. They are totally distinct and different characters, and drawn in contrast to each other, as appears from their whole attire and behaviour, and particularly from these two circumstances ; that during the 1260 years while the woman is ' fed in the wilderness,' the beast and the scarlet whore are reigning and triumphant, and at the latter end, the whore is, ' burnt with fire,' when the woman

man as 'his wife, hath made herself ready for the marriage of the Lamb. 'A woman sitting upon a beast,' is a lively and significative emblem of a church or city directing and governing an empire. In painting and sculpture, as well as in prophetic language, cities are often represented in the form of women: and Rome herself is exhibited * in ancient coins as a woman sitting upon a lion. Here the beast is 'a scarlet coloured beast,' for the same reason that the dragon was, xii. 3. 'a red dragon;' to denote his cruelty, and in allusion to the distinguishing colour of the Roman emperors and magistrates. The beast is also 'full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns;' so that this is the very same beast which was described in the former part of the 13th chapter: and the woman in some measure answers to the two-horned beast or false prophet: and consequently the woman is Christian, and not Pagan Rome; because Rome was become Christian, before the beast had completely 'seven heads and ten horns,' that is before the Roman empire experienced its last form of government, and was divided into ten kingdoms. The woman is arrayed too, ver. 4. 'in purple and scarlet colour,' this being the colour of the popes and cardinals, as well as of the emperors and senators of Rome. Nay the mules and horses, which carry the popes and cardinals, are covered with scarlet cloth, so that they may properly be said to ride 'upon a scarlet coloured beast.' The woman is also 'decked with gold and precious stones, and pearls:' and who can sufficiently describe the pride, and grandeur, and magnificence of the church of Rome in her vestments and ornaments of all kinds? Alexander Donatus † hath drawn a comparison between ancient and modern Rome, and asserts the superiority of his own church in the pomp and splendour of religion. You have a remarkable instance in Paul II. of whom ‡ Platina relates, that "in his pontifical vestments he outwent all his predecessors, especially in his *regno* or mitre, upon which he had laid out a great deal of money in purchasing at vast rates, diamonds, sapphires, emeralds, chrysoliths, jaspers, u-

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* Vitting. p. 757. Emmenefs. ad Virg. *Æn.* VI. 854.

† Vitting. p. 759. Donat. de Urbe Roma. Lib. I. Cap. 29.

‡ Platina's Lives of the Popes translated by Sir Paul Rycaut,

nions, and all manner of precious stones, wherewith adorned like another Aaron he would appear abroad somewhat more august than a man, delighted to be seen and admired by every one. But lest he alone should seem to differ from the rest, he made a decree, that none but cardinals should under a penalty wear red caps; to whom he had in the first year of his popedom given cloths of that colour, to make horse cloths or mule cloths of when they rode." You have another conspicuous instance in the Lady of Loretto; the * riches of whose holy image, and house, and treasury; the golden angels, the gold and silver lamps; the vast number, variety, and richness of the jewels, of the vestments for the holy image, and for the priests; with the prodigious treasures of all sorts; are far beyond the reach of description; and as Mr Addison says, "as much surpassed my expectation, as other sights have generally fallen short of it. Silver can scarce find an admission, and gold itself looks but poorly amongst such an incredible number of precious stones." Moreover the woman, like other harlots who give philters and love-potions to inflame their lovers, hath 'a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations and filthiness of her fornication;' to signify the specious and alluring arts, wherewith she bewitcheth and inciteth men to idolatry, which is 'abomination and spiritual fornication.' It is an image copied from Jeremiah, li. 7. 'Babylon hath been a golden cup in the Lord's hand, that made all the earth drunken;' and in that excellent little moral treatise, † intitled the Table of Cebes, there is a like picture of Deceit or Impostures; "a fair, beautiful, and false woman, and having a cup in her hand; she is called Deceit, and seduceth all mankind." And is not this a much more proper emblem of pontifical than of imperial Rome?

Yet farther to distinguish the woman, she has her name inscribed on her forehead, ver. 5. in allusion to the practice of some notorious prostitutes, who had their names written

* See Wright's Travels. p. 132. Addison's Travels. p. 93.

† γυνή πισπασμένη τῇ εἰδί, καὶ πιδανὴ φαινομένη, καὶ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἔχουσα ποτήριον οἶν. Ἀπὸ τῆς καλῆς, ἥ πάντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πλανᾷ. Mulier formosula, argutaque specie, et manu poculum quoddam tenens. In cultura vocatur, quae omnes homines seducit. Tab. Cebetis non longe ab initio.

written in a label upon their foreheads, as we may * collect from ancient authors. The inscription is so very particular, that we cannot easily mistake the person; 'Mystery, Babylon the great, the mother of harlots, or rather of fornications, and abominations of the earth.' Her name *Mystery* can imply no less, than that she dealeth in *mysteries*; her religion is 'a mystery, a mystery of iniquity;' and she herself is 'mystically and spiritually Babylon the great.' But the title of *mystery* is in no respect proper to ancient Rome, more than any other city: and neither is there any mystery in substituting one heathen, idolatrous, and persecuting city for another; but it is indeed a mystery, that a Christian city professing and boasting herself to be the city of God, should prove another Babylon in idolatry and cruelty to the people of God. She glories in the name of *Roman Catholic*, and well therefore may she be called 'Babylon the great.' She affects the title and title of 'our holy mother the church,' but she is in truth 'the mother of fornications and abominations of the earth.' Neither can this character with any propriety be applied to ancient Rome; for she was rather a learner of foreign superstitions, than the mistress of idolatry to other nations; as appears in various instances, and particularly from † that solemn form of adjuration, which the Romans used when they laid siege to a city, calling forth the tutelary deities of the place, and promising them temples, and sacrifices, and other solemnities at Rome. It may be concluded, therefore, that this part of the prophecy is sufficiently fulfilled, though there should be reason to question the truth of what is asserted by some writers, that the word *mystery* was formerly written in letters of gold upon the forefront of the pope's mitre. ‡ Scaliger § affirms it upon the authority of the Duke de Montmorency, who received his information from a

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* *Nomen tuum pendit in fronte: pretia stupri accepisti, &c. Seneca. Lib. 1. Controvers. 2. Juvenal, Sat. VI. 122.*

—tunc nuda papillis

Constitit auratis, titulum mentita Lyciscæ.

† *Macrobi Saturnal. Lib. 3. Cap. 9.*

‡ *Fen Monsieur de Montmorency étant a Rome du temps qu'on parloit librement et du S. Pere et du S. Siege, apprit d'un homme digne de foi qu'a la verite le tiare pontifical avoit escript au frontal en letters d'or *Mysterium*. Scal. in locum. apud Critic. Sacra.*

man of good credit at Rome. Francis le Moyné and Brocardus * confirm it, appealing to ocular inspection; and when king James objected to this, Lessius could not deny it. If the thing be true, it is a wonderful coincidence of the event with the letter of the prophecy; but it hath been much controverted, and you may see the authors on both sides in † Wolfius. It is much more certain, and none of that communion can deny it, that the ancient mitres were usually adorned with inscriptions. One particular ‡ there is “ preserved at Rome as a precious relic of pope Sylvester I. richly but not artfully embroidered with the figure of the virgin Mary crowned, and holding a little Christ, and these words in large capitals underneath, AVE REGINA CELI, *Hail queen of heaven*, in the front; of which father Angela Rocca, keeper of the pope’s sacristy, and an eminent antiquary, has given a copperplate in the third vol. p. 490. of the works of pope Gregory I. and it seems more probably to have belonged to Gregory; because he is said to have first instituted at Rome the litanies to the virgin Mary.” An inscription thus directly contrary to that on the forehead of the high priest’s mitre, Exod. xxviii. 36. **HOLINESS TO THE LORD.**

Infamous as the woman is for her idolatry, she is no less detestable for her cruelty, which are the two principal characteristics of the Antichristian empire. She is, ver. 6. ‘drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus:’ which may indeed be applied both to Pagan and to Christian Rome, for both have in their turns cruelly persecuted ‘the saints and martyrs of Jesus:’ but the latter is more deserving of the character, as she hath far exceeded the former both in the degree and duration of her persecutions. It is very true; as it was hinted before, that if Rome Pagan hath slain

* Idem quoque confirmant Franc le Moyné et Jacobus Brocardus in h. l. ad *averſus* provocantes, non dissimulante Leonardo Lessio. Wolfius in locum. In tiara, in mitra papæ habes hoc verbum *Mysterium* scriptum: ut non sit tibi opus longinus interpretationem quaerere. Brocard in locum apud Virring. p. 763. Romanus pontifex, in sua tiara, hoc ipsum nomen inscriptum habuit *Mysterium*, quod *avertit* ipsi testantur; et cum id Jacobus Alex objiceret, Lessius negare non potuit. Downman. apud Poli. Synops. in locum.

† Jo. Christophori Wolfii Curæ Philolog. Cetrizæ. Tom. 5.

‡ See *Manuscript of the Vatican* some passages of Scripture, p. 114.

slain her thousands of innocent Christians, Rome Christian hath slain her ten thousands. For not to mention other outrageous slaughters and barbarities; the cruises against the Waldenses and Albigenses, the murders committed by the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands, the massacres in France and Ireland, will probably amount to above ten times the number of all the Christians slain in all the ten persecutions of the Roman emperors put together. St John's *admiration* also plainly evinces, that Christian Rome was intended: for it could be no matter of surprise to him, that a Heathen city should persecute the Christians, when he himself had seen and suffered the persecutions under Nero; but that a city, professedly Christian, should wanton and riot in the blood of Christians, was a subject of astonishment indeed; and well might he, as it is emphatically expressed, 'wonder with great wonder.'

7 And the angel said unto me, Wherefore didst thou marvel? I will tell thee the mystery of the woman, and of the beast that carrieth her, which hath the seven heads and ten horns.

8 The beast that thou sawest, was, and is not; and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit, and go into perdition: and they that dwell on the earth shall wonder (whose names were not written in the book of life from the foundation of the world), when they behold the beast that was, and is not, and yet is.

9 And here is the mind which hath wisdom. The seven heads are seven mountains on which the woman sitteth.

10 And there are seven kings: five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come; and when he cometh, he must continue a short space.

11 And the beast that was, and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition.

12 And the ten horns which thou sawest, are ten kings, which have received no kingdom as yet: but receive power as kings one hour with the beast.

13 These have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast.

14 These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them: for he is Lord of lords, and

King of kings; and they that are with him, are called, and chosen, and faithful. desolate, and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and burn her with fire.

15 And he saith unto me, The waters which thou sawest, where the whore sitteth, are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues.

16 And the ten horns which thou sawest upon the beast, these shall hate the whore and shall make her

17 For God hath put in their hearts to fulfil his will, and to agree, and give their kingdom unto the beast, until the words of God shall be fulfilled.

18 And the woman which thou sawest, is that great city, which reigneth over the kings of the earth.

It was not thought sufficient to represent these things only in vision; and therefore the angel, like the *εγγυλιος*, nuncius, or messenger in the ancient drama, undertakes to explain, ver. 7. 'the mystery,' the mystic scene or secret meaning, 'of the woman, and of the beast that carrieth her: and the angel's interpretation is indeed the best key to the Revelation, the best clue to direct and conduct us through this intricate labyrinth.

'The mystery of the beast is first explained; and 'the beast' is considered first in general, ver. 8. under a three-fold state or succession, as existing, and then ceasing to be, and then reviving again. so as to become another and the same. He 'was, and is not,' *ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν* 'and yet is,' or according to other copies *ἦν καὶ ἔστιν* 'and shall come, shall ascend out of the bottomless pit.' A *beast* in the prophetic style, as we before observed, is a tyrannical idolatrous empire: and the Roman empire was idolatrous under the Heathen emperors, and then ceased to be so for some time under the Christian emperors, and then became idolatrous again under the Roman pontiffs, and so hath continued ever since. It is the same idolatrous power revived again, but only in another form; and all the corrupt part of mankind, whose names are not enrolled as good citizens in the registers of heaven, are pleased at the revival of it; but in this last form it 'shall go into perdition;' it shall not, as it did before, cease for a time, and revive again, but shall be destroyed for ever.

After

After this general account of the beast, there follows an explanation of the particular emblems, with a short preface, intimating that they are deserving of the deepest attention, and are a proper exercise and trial of the understanding. 'Here is the mind which hath wisdom,' ver. 9. as it was said upon a former occasion, xiii. 18. 'Here is wisdom; let him that hath understanding count,' &c. The 'seven heads' have a double signification. They are primarily 'seven mountains on which the woman sitteth,' on which the capital city is seated; which we have the least tincture of letters know to be the situation of Rome. Historians, geographers, and poets, all speak of *the city with seven hills*; and passages might be quoted to this purpose without number and without end. It is observed too, that new Rome or Constantinople is situated on seven mountains: but these are very rarely mentioned, and mentioned only by obscure authors, in comparison of the others; and besides the seven mountains, other particulars also must coincide, which cannot be found in Constantinople. It is evident therefore, that the city 'seated on seven mountains,' must be Rome; and a plainer description could not be given of it, without expressing the name, which there might be several wise reasons for concealing.

As 'the seven heads' signify 'seven mountains,' so they also signify, 'seven kings,' reigning over the seven mountains. ver. 10, 11. *Kai βασιλεὺς ἐπ' αὐτῶν*, 'And they are seven kings or kingdoms, or forms of governments,' as the word imports, and hath been shown to import in former instances. 'Five are fallen,' five of these forms of government are already past; 'and one is,' the sixth is now subsisting. The 'five fallen' are *kings*, and *consuls*, and *dictators*, and *decemvirs*, and *military tribunes with consular authority*; and they are enumerated and distinguished by those who should best know, the two greatest Roman historians * Livy and Tacitus. The *sixth* is the power of the *Cæsars* or *emperors*, which was subsisting at the time of the vision. An end was put to the imperial name

* Quæcunque condita urbe Roma ad captam eandem urbem Romani sub regibus primum, consulibus deinde ac dictatoribus, decemvirisque ac tribunis consularibus gessere. Livii Lib. 6. Cap. 1. Urbem Romam a principio reges habuere. Libertatem et consulatum L. Bruti instituit

in the 476 year by Odoacer king of the Herali, who having taken Rome deposed Momyllus Augustulus, the last emperor of the west. He and his successors the Ostrogoths assumed the title of kings of Italy: but though the name was changed, the power still continued much the same. This therefore cannot well be called a new form of government; it may rather be considered as a continuation of the imperial power, or as a renovation of the kingly authority. *Consuls* are reckoned but one form of government, though their office was frequently suspended, and after a time restored again: and in the same manner *kings* may be counted but one form of government, though the name was resumed after an interval of so many years. A new form of government was not erected, till Rome fell under the obedience of the eastern emperor, and the emperor's lieutenant, the exarch of Ravenna, dissolved all the former magistracies, and constituted a duke of Rome, to govern the people, and to pay tribute to the exarchate of Ravenna. Rome had never experienced this form of government before: and this I conceive to be *the other*, which in the apostle's days 'was not yet come, and when he cometh, he must continue a short space.' For Rome was reduced to a dukedom tributary to the exarch of Ravenna by *Loeginus*, who was sent exarch † in the year 566 according to some accounts, or in the year 568 according to others; and 'the city revolted from the eastern emperor to the pope in the year 1727: which is a 'short space,' in comparison of the imperial power, which preceded, and lasted above 500 years; and in comparison of the papal power, which followed, and hath now continued about a thousand years. But still possibly you may hesitate, whether this is properly a new form of government. Rome being still subject to the imperial power, by being subject to the Greek emperor's

tuit. *Dictatura* ad tempus sumebantur: neque *Decemviralis potestas* ultra biennium, neque *tribunorum militum consularis* jus diu valuit. Non *Cinnae*, non *Sellae* longa dominatio et *Pompeii* *Crassique* potentia, cito in *Caesarem*; *Lepidi* atque *Antonii* arma, in *Augustum* cessere; qui cuncta discordia civilibus scissa, nomine *principis* sub imperium accepit. Tacit. *Annal.* Lib. 1. in initio.

* Sigonius de Occidentali Imperio Lib. 14. &c. Petavii. *Rat. Temp.* Pars 1. Lib. 6. Cap. 16.

† Sigonius de Regno Ital. Lib. 1. Petav. *Rat. Temp.* Pars 1. Lib. 6. Cap. 10.

‡ Sigon. ibid. Lib. 3.

ror's deputy, the exarch of Ravenna : and according as you determine this point, 'the beast that was and is not, was,' while idolatrous, and 'was not' while not idolatrous, will appear to be the 'seventh or eighth.' If you reckon this a new form of government, * the beast that now is, is 'the eighth;' if you do not reckon this a new form of government, the beast is 'of the seven;' but whether he be 'the seventh or eighth,' he is the last form of government, 'and goeth into perdition.' It appears evidently, that the last form of government, which was subsisting in St John's time, is the imperial; and what form of government hath succeeded to that in Rome, and hath continued for 'a long space' of time, but the papal? The beast therefore, upon which the woman rideth, is the Roman government in its last form: and this all must acknowledge, is the papal, and not the imperial.

Having explained the mystery of 'the seven heads,' the angel proceeds to the explanation of 'the ten horns,' ver, 12, 13, 14. 'The ten horns are ten kings, who have received no kingdom as yet:' and consequently they were not in being at the time of the vision; and indeed the Roman empire was not divided into ten kingdoms, till some time after it was become Christian. 'But they receive power as kings one hour,' † *per unum horum*, at the same time, or for the same length of time 'with the beast.'

It

* Mr Mann explains the *seventh* and *eighth* otherwise. Quis igitur rex septimus erit? Nimirum ipse papa. Nam ex quo A. D. 534. cum ecclesiarum omnium caput declaravit Justinianus alii omnium iudicem, ipsum a nullo iudicandum, tanta reverentia et obsequio ab Imp. ipsis cultus est, tanta auctoritate ipsos subinde reprehendit, interdum etiam anathemate perculit, ut non minus dicendum sit regnasse in spiritualibus quamvis se subitum semper servumque servorum diceret, quam in temporalibus imperatores. Tunc igitur papae *septem filii*, id est, ex genere atque ordine illorum principum qui praeceperant, esse dicendus erat, donec A. D. 727 Leonis imp. jugum, quem anno superiore excommunicarat, prorsus excussit Gregorius II, Romanque et regiones vicinas sibi subiecit. Ex illo enim tempore papa rex octavus merito haberi potest, cum gladio spirituali temporalem quoque delinque adeptus. Scio esse, qui postea Leone imp. negent Romam papae subiectam fuisse, sed a Pipino A. D. 752. Exarchatam Ravennae, &c. papae datum tantum cum aliis urbibus, non ipsam Romam; sed mihi videntur non dedisse, sed umbra tantum certare. MS. *hanc in eo de antiquo*

† *Uno eodemque tempore.* Vitring. Malim, ad unum idemque tempus, ut eius identitatis temporis durationem complectatur. Mr Mann's MS.

It is true in both senses, they rise and fall together with the beast: and consequently they are not to be reckoned before the rise and establishment of the beast; and accordingly when a catalogue was produced of these ten kings or kingdoms in a dissertation upon Daniel, they are exhibited as they stood in the eighth century, which is the time of the rise and establishment of the beast. Kingdoms they might be before, but they were not before kingdoms or horns of the beast, till they embraced his religion, and submitted to his authority; and the beast strengthened them, as they again strengthened the beast. It is upon the seventh or last head of the beast that the horns are seen growing together, that is upon the Roman empire in its seventh or last form of government: and they are not, like the *heads*, successive, but contemporary kingdoms. 'These have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast,' which is easily understood and applied to the princes and states in communion with the church of Rome. However they may differ in other respects, yet they agree in submitting implicitly to the authority of the Roman church, and in defending its rights and prerogatives against all opposers. But where were ever ten kings or kingdoms, who were all unanimous in their submission to the Roman empire, and voluntarily and of their own accord contributed 'their power and strength,' their forces and riches to support and maintain it? These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them; they persecute the true church of Christ, but the true church shall in the end prevail and triumph over them; which particulars have been fulfilled in part already, and will be more fully accomplished hereafter.

In the former part of this description. ver. 1. 'the whore' is represented like ancient Babylon, 'sitting upon many waters:' and these waters are here, ver 15. said expressly to * signify 'peoples, and multitudes, and nations and tongues.' So many words in the plural number fitly denote the great extensiveness of her power and jurisdiction: and it is a remarkable peculiarity of Rome, different

* *Ex hoc loco tanto magis appositè, quod ex populi reverentia et amore primo excrevit potestas illa papalis, et per decem aut plurima secula populi Romani suffragiis crevit sunt papæ. Mr. Mede.*

different from all other governments in the world, that her authority is not limited to her own immediate subjects, and confined within the bounds of her own dominions, but extends, over all kingdoms and countries professing the same religion. She herself glories in the title of the *Catholic* church, and exults in the number of her votaries as a certain proof of the true religion. Cardinal * Bellarmin's first note of the true church is *the very name of the Catholic church*: and his fourth note is *amplitude, or multitude and variety of believers*; for the truly catholic church, says he, ought not only to comprehend all ages, but likewise all places, all nations, all kinds of men. But notwithstanding the general current in her favour, the tide shall turn against her; and the hands which helped to raise her, shall also pull her down, ver. 16. 'The ten horns shall hate the whore;' that is by a common figure of the whole for a part, some of the ten kings, for others, xviii. 9. 'shall bewail her and lament for her, and xix. 19. shall fight and perish in the cause of the beast. Some of the kings who formerly loved her, grown sensible of her exorbitant exactions and oppressions, shall 'hate her,' shall strip, and expose, and plunder her, and utterly consume her with fire. Rome, therefore, will finally be destroyed by some of the princes who are reformed or shall be reformed from popery: and as the kings of France have contributed greatly to her advancement, it is not impossible, nor improbable, that some time or other they may also be the principal authors of her destruction. France hath already shewn some tendency towards a reformation, and therefore may appear more likely to accomplish it. Nay even the kings of Spain and Portugal, their most *catholic* and *faithful* Majesties, as they are styled, have restrained the power of the Pope and the Inquisition, and have not only banished the Jesuits from their respective kingdoms, but have likewise insisted upon the suppression of that order, which may be considered as leading steps to some farther revolution. Such a revolution may more reasonably be expected, because, ver. 17. this insatiation

* Prima Nota, est ipsum Catholicæ Ecclesiæ et Christianorum nomen. Bellar. de Notis Ecclesiæ, Lib. 4. Cap. 4. Quarta Nota, est amplitudo, sive multitudo et varietas credentium. Ecclesia enim, ut vere catholica, non solum debet amplecti omnia tempora, sed etiam omnia loca, omnes nationes, omnium hominum genera. Ibid. Cap. 7.

of popish princes is permitted by divine providence only for a certain period, 'until the words of God shall be fulfilled,' and particularly the words of the prophet Daniel, vii. 25, 26. 'They shall be given into his hand, until a time, and times, and the dividing of time.' But then as it immediately follows, 'the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume, and to destroy it unto the end.'

Little doubt can remain after this, what idolatrous church was meant by the whore of Babylon? But for the greater assuredness it is added by the angel, ver. 18. 'The woman which thou sawest is that great city.' The angel had undertaken to 'tell the mystery of the woman, and of the beast.' He hath explained the mystery of the beast, and of his seven heads and ten horns; and his explanation of the mystery of the woman is 'that great city, which reigneth over the kings of the earth.' And what city at the time of the vision 'reigned over the kings of the earth,' but Rome? She hath too ever since 'reigned over the kings of the earth,' if not with temporal, yet at least with spiritual authority. In the arts of government, she hath far exceeded all the cities both of ancient and modern times: as if she had constantly remembered and put in practice the advice of the poet,

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
Hæc Tibi erunt artes.

Virgil.

Rome therefore is evidently and undeniably *this great city*: and that Christian and not Heathen, papal and not imperial Rome was meant, hath appeared in several instances, and will appear in several more.

C H A P. XVIII.

1 **A**ND after these things I saw another angel come down from heaven, having great power; and the earth was lightened with his glory.
And he cried mightily with a strong voice, saying, Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen, become the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird.

12 For

3 For all nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication, and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her, and the merchants of the earth are waxed rich through the abundance of her delicacies.

4 And I heard another voice from heaven, saying, Come out of her my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues :

5 For her sins have reached unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities.

6 Reward her even as

she rewarded you, and double unto her double, according to her works : in the cup which she hath filled, fill to her double.

7 How much she hath glorified herself, and lived deliciously, so much torment and sorrow give her : for she saith in her heart, I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow.

8 Therefore shall her plagues come in one day, death, and mourning, and famine ; and she shall be utterly burnt with fire : for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her.

After this account of the state and condition of spiritual Babylon, there follows a description of her fall and destruction, in the same sublime and figurative style as Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel have foretold the fall of ancient Babylon and Tyre, the types and emblems of this spiritual Babylon. A mighty and glorious angel descends from heaven, ver. 1, 2, 3. and proclaims, as before, xiv. 8. the fall of Babylon, and together with her punishment, the crimes which deserved it, her idolatry and wickedness. It is farther added, that after her fall she shall be made a scene of desolation, and become the habitation of hateful birds and beasts of prey ; as Isaiah also predicted concerning ancient Babylon, xiii. 21. ' Wild beasts of the deserts shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there : ' where the word that we translate *satyrs*, the Seventy translate *insuperabiles demones*, or *devils*, who were supposed sometimes to take the shape of goats or satyrs, and to haunt forlorn and desolate places : and it is from the translation of the Seventy that the apostle hath borrowed his images and expressions. But if this

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• Vide Bocharti Hieroz. Part. prior. Lib. 2. Cap. 55. Col. 643.

fall of Babylon was effected by Totilas king of the Ostrogoths, as Grotius affirms, or by Alaric king of the Visigoths, as the bishop of Meaux contends, how can Rome be said ever since to have been the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird,* unless they will allow the popes and cardinals to merit these appellations?

* Another voice is also heard from heaven, ver. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. exhorting all Christians to forsake the communion of so corrupt a church, lest they should be 'partakers of her sins and of her plagues,' and at the same time denouncing that her punishment shall be great and extraordinary in proportion to her crimes. But was there any such necessity for forsaking the church of Rome in the days of Alaric or Totilas, before she had yet degenerated again into idolatry? or what were then her notorious crimes deserving of such exemplary punishment, unless Rome Christian was to suffer for the sins of Rome Pagan? 'She saith in her heart, like ancient Babylon, *Is. xlvii.* 7. 8. 'I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow;' She glories, like ancient Rome, in the name * of *the eternal city*: but notwithstanding 'she shall be utterly burnt with fire; for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her.' These expressions can imply no less than a total destruction by fire; but Rome hath never yet been totally destroyed by fire. The most that † Alaric and ‡ Totilas did, was burning some parts of the city: but if only some parts of the city were burnt, it was not an event important enough to be ascribed to 'the Lord

' God'

* It is to be found in the very title of Kircher's *Obeliscus Pamphilus*: *In urbis aeternae ornamentum erexit Innocentius X. Pont. Max. apud Daghuz. p. 812.*

† Tertio die barbari, quam ingressi fuerant urbem, sponte discedunt, sacro quidem aliquantulum adium incendio, *Uc. Orol. Hist. Lib. 7. Cap. 39. Edit. Havercam.* Alaricus trepidam urbem Romanam invasit, partemque ejus cremavit incendio, &c. *Marcellini Chron. Indict. 8. p. 38. Edit. Scaligeri.* Quin etiam adificia quadam incendio, aliaque opera temere furore barbarico deturbata sunt. *Sigonii Hist. de Occidentali Imperio Lib. 10. in fine.*

‡ Procop. de Bell. Goth. Lib. 3. Cap. 22. *Ρωμην δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἐκείνης καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην ἐπὶ τοῖς πυρσὶν ὅλην.* Porro Totilas Romam nec delere, nec relinquere amplius voluit. *Ibid. Cap. 36. Ibid. Lib. 4. Cap. 22.* Totilas dolo Maurorum ingreditur Romam die XVI. Kal. Jan. ac evertit muros, domos aliquantas igni comburens, &c. *Marcellini Chron. p. 54. Ibid. Sigonius Ibid. Lib. 19.*

God particularly, and to be considered as a *strong* exertion of his judgment.

9 And the kings of the earth, who have committed fornication, and lived deliciously with her, shall bewail her, and lament for her, when they shall see the smoke of her burning.

10 Standing afar off for the fear of her torment, saying, Alas, alas, that great city Babylon, that mighty city! for in one hour is thy judgment come.

11 And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her, for no man buyeth her merchandise any more :

12 The merchandise of gold and silver, and precious stones, and of pearls, and fine linen, and purple, and silk, and scarlet, and all thyne wood, and all manner vessels of ivory, and all manner vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and iron and marble,

13 And cinnamon, and odours and ointments, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and slaves, and souls of men.

14 And the fruits that thy soul lusted after, are departed from thee, and all things which were dainty

and goodly, are departed from thee, and thou shalt find them no more at all.

15 The merchants of these things which were made rich by her, shall stand afar off, for the fear of her torment, weeping and wailing.

16 And saying, Alas, alas, that great city, that was clothed in fine linen, and purple, and scarlet, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls! for in one hour so great riches is come to nought.

17 And every ship-master, and all the company in ships, and sailors, and as many as trade by sea, stood afar off,

18 And cried when they saw the smoke of her burning, saying, What city is like unto this great city?

19 And they cast dust on their heads, and cried weeping and wailing, saying, Alas, alas, that great city wherein were made rich all that had ships in the sea, by reason of her costliness! for in one hour is she made desolate.

20 Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye holy apostles and prophets, for God hath avenged you on her.

In this solemn manner, by an angel and by a voice from heaven, is declared the fall of Rome, and her destruction by fire; and then are set forth the consequences of her fall, the lamentations of some, and the rejoicings of others. 'The kings,' of her communion, 'who have committed fornication, and lived deliciously, with her, bewail and lament for her:' ver. 9, 10. but what kings were they who 'lived deliciously,' with old Rome, and had reason to lament her fall? 'The merchants of the earth weep and mourn over her;' ver. 11—17. for there is an end of all traffic and commerce with her, whether spiritual or temporal; for it is intimated, ver. 13. that they make merchandize of the *souls* as well as of the *bodies* of men. 'The ship-masters, and sailors, and as many as trade by sea, weep and wail:' ver. 17, 18, 19. for they can now no longer import or export commodities for her, or convey strangers to and fro; for there is an end of all her *cosliness*. These lamentations are copied from the like lamentations over Tyre in the 26th and 27th chapters of Ezekiel; and are equal to the most mournful strains of the Greek tragedians over Thebes or Troy. In all they stand afar off,' ver. 10, 15, 17. as if they were unable or afraid to help and assist her. In all they cry *uai uai*, 'alas, alas,' ver. 10, 16, 19. which is the third woe,' *uai*. before mentioned; viii. 13. xi. 14. for as the fall of the Othman empire is the end of 'the second woe,' so the fall of Rome is the completion of 'the third woe.' In all they lament the suddenness of her fall; ver. 10, 17, 19. 'for in one hour' is her destruction come. At the same time her destruction is matter of joy and triumph, ver. 20. to 'the holy apostles and prophets, for God hath avenged them on her:' but what reason had the Christians to rejoice over the calamities brought on Rome by Alaric or Totilas, in which they themselves were the principal sufferers? and how were these calamities any vindication of their cause, or of the cause of true religion?

21 And a mighty angel took up a stone like a great millstone, and cast it into the sea, saying, Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all.

22 And

22 And the voice of harpers, and musicians, and of pipers, and trumpeters, shall be heard no more at all in thee : and no craftsmen, of whatsoever craft *be he*, shall be found any more in thee ; and the sound of a millstone shall be heard no more at all in thee :

23 And the light of a candle shall shine no more at all in thee ; and the voice of the bridegroom and of the bride shall be heard no more at all in thee : for thy merchants were the great men of the earth ; for by thy sorceries were all nations deceived :

24 And in her was found the blood of prophets, and of saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth.

Yet farther to confirm the sudden fall and irrecoverable destruction of Rome, an emblem is copied and improved from Jeremiah ; li. 63, 64. ‘ a mighty angel,’ ver. 21. ‘ casteth a millstone into the sea, declaring that ‘ with the same violence this great city shall be thrown down,’ and shall never rise again. Her utter desolation is farther described, ver. 22, 23. in phrases and expressions borrowed from the ancient prophets. Is. xxiv. 8 Jer. vii. 34. xvi. 9. xxv. 10. Ezek. xxvi. 13. There shall be no more *musicians* for the entertainment of the rich and great ; no more *tradesmen* or *artificers* to furnish the conveniences of life ; no more *servants* or *slaves* to grind at the mill, and supply the necessaries of life. Nay, there shall be no more *lights*, no more *bridal songs* ; the city shall never be peopled again by new marriages, but shall remain depopulated for ever. For which utter desolation there are assigned these reasons, ver. 23, 24. her *pride* and *luxury*, her *superstition* and *idolatry*, her *tyranny* and *cruelty*. Her punishment shall be as severe and exemplary, as if she had been guilty of all the persecutions that ever were upon account of religion ; for by her conduct she hath approved, and imitated, and surpassed them all. But Rome hath never yet been depopulated and desolated in this manner. she hath been taken indeed and plundered * by Alaric king of the Visigoths in the year 410, by Genseric king of the Vandals in the year 455, by Totilas king of the Ostrogoths in the year 546, and by others since that time : but yet she is still standing and

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flourishing

* See Petav. Rat. Temp. and Elair's Chron. Tables.

flourishing, and is honoured by many nations as the metropolis of the Christian world; she still resounds with *singers and musicians*; she still excels in *arts* which serve to pomp and luxury; she still abounds with *candles*, and *lamps*, and *torches*, burning even by-day as well as by night: and consequently this prophecy hath not yet been, but remains yet to be fulfilled.

C H A P XIX.

1 **A**ND after those things I heard a great voice of much people in heaven, saying, Alleluia; Salvation, and glory, and honour, and power unto the Lord our God:

2 For true and righteous are his judgments; for he hath judged the great whore, which did corrupt the earth with her fornication, and hath avenged the blood of his servants at her hand.

3 And again they said, Alleluiah. And her smoke rose up for ever and ever.

4 And the four and twenty elders, and the four beasts fell down and worshipped God that sat on the throne, saying, Amen; Alleluia.

5 And a voice came out of the throne, saying, Praise our God all ye his servants, and ye that fear him, both small and great.

6 And I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of ma-

ny waters, and as the voice of mighty thundrings, saying, Alleluiah: for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth.

7 Let us be glad and rejoice, and give honour to him: for the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready.

8 And to her was granted, that she should be arrayed in fine linen, clean and white: for the fine linen is the righteousness of saints.

9 And he saith unto me, Write, Blessed are they which are called unto the marriage supper of the Lamb. And he saith unto me, These are the true sayings of God.

10 And I fell at his feet to worship him: And he said unto me, See thou do it not: I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren that have the testimony of Jesus: worship God: for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy.

Hereupon

Hereupon the whole church, ver. 1—4. agreeably to the exhortation of the angel, xviii. 20. join praises and thanksgivings to Almighty God for his *truth* and *righteousness* in judging this idolatrous city, his *truth* in fulfilling his promise and threatenings: and his *righteousness* in proportioning her punishment to her crimes. ‘And her smoke rose up for ever and ever;’ which intimates that she should be made as signal a monument of divine vengeance as Sodom and Gomorrah. It is taken from Isaiah, who hath said much the same thing of Edom, and by Edom * the Jews understand Rome. Isaiah, xxxiv. 9, 10. ‘And the streams thereof shall be turned into pitch;’ in the genuine † editions of the Chaldee paraphrase it is, and the rivers of *Rome* shall be turned into pitch, and the dust thereof into brimstone, and the land thereof shall become burning pitch. It shall not be quenched night nor day! the smoke shall go up for ever.’ This tradition of the rabbins may receive some confirmation from these words of the apostle: and such an event may appear the more probable, because the adjacent countries are known to be of a sulphureous and bituminous soil; there have even at Rome been ‡ eruptions of subterraneous fire, which have consumed several buildings; so that the fuel seemed to be prepared and waiteth only for the breath of the Lord to kindle it. But God is praised not only for the destruction of the great seat of idolatry, but also, ver. 5—8. for the manifestation of his kingdom, as before, xi. 17. and for the happy and glorious state of the reformed Christian church. She is no *harlot* tainted with idolatry, but a *spouse* prepared for her Lord Christ: she is not arrayed like an harlot ‘in purple and scarlet colour,’ but like a decent bride, ‘in fine linen clean and white,’ as the properest emblem of her purity and sanctity. Christ hath now, as St Paul expresseth

* R. David in principio Obadiæ, *Quod autem dicunt propheta de-
nuntiatione Edom in extremitate dierum, de Roma dixerunt.* Buxtorf.
Ghald. Lex. in voce אדום.

† Et convertentur flumina Romæ in picem, &c. Posteriores edi-
tiones vocem *Roma* omiserunt. Buxtorf. ibid.

‡ Vide Dion. Hist. 66. in Tito, *ὅπου δὲ ἐν ἱερῷ ἔργον ἐπὶ ἡμέ-
ραι πολλὰ καὶ οὐκ ἐλάττωσαν τὸν πόλεον.* n. c. 2. Ignis autem alias su-
pra terram exortus anno insequenti magnam admodum Romæ
partem absumsit, &c. p. 756. Leunclav.

expresseth it, Eph. v. 26, 27. 'sanctified and cleansed his church with the washing of water, by the word; That he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing, but that it should be holy, and without blemish.' So great is the felicity of this period, that the angel orders it, ver. 9. to be particularly noted: and blessed and happy are they who shall be living at this time, and be worthy to partake of this marriage feast. It is a matter of consolation to all good Christians, and they may assuredly depend upon it, as the never failing word of God. St John was in such rapture and extacy at these discoveries, that, ver. 10. not knowing or not considering what he did, 'he fell down at the angel's feet to worship him:' but the angel prohibits all manner of worship, for he was no more than 'a fellow servant' of the apostle's and of all true prophets; of all 'who have the testimony of Jesus,' and 'the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy.' Worship not me then, says the angel, but *God*, whose servants we both are, and who inspires us both with the same spirit of prophecy.

11 And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse; and he that sat upon him *was* called faithful and true, and in righteousness he doth judge and make war.

12 His eyes *were* as a flame of fire, and on his head were many crowns; and he had a name written that no man knew but he himself:

13 And he *was* clothed with a vesture dipt in blood: and his name is called, The Word of God.

14 And the armies which were in heaven followed him upon white horses, clothed in fine linen, white and clean.

15 And out of his mouth

goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations: and he shall rule them with a rod of iron: and he treadeth the winepress of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God.

16 And he hath on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS.

17 And I saw an angel standing in the sun; and he cried with a loud voice, saying to all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven, Come and gather yourselves together unto the supper of the great God;

18 That

18 That ye may eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men, and the flesh of horses, and of them that sit on them, and the flesh of all men, both free and bond; both small and great.

19 And I saw the beast and the kings of the earth, and their armies gathered together to make war against him that sat on the horse, and against his army.

20 And the beast was taken, and with him the false

prophet that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his image. These both were cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone.

21 And the remnant were slain with the sword of him that sat upon the horse, which sword proceeded out of his mouth: and all the fowls were filled with their flesh.

It was said by the angel, speaking of the kings subject to the beast, xvii. 14. 'These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them: for he is Lord of lords, and King of kings; and they that are with him, are called, and chosen, and faithful.' And this vision, ver. 11—21. is added by way of enlargement and explanation of that great event. 'Heaven is opened,' and our Saviour cometh forth riding 'upon a white horse,' as a token of his victory and triumph over his enemies. He is described in such characters as are appropriated to him in this book, and in the ancient prophets. 'On his head *also* were many crowns,' to denote his numerous conquests and kingdoms, which were now, xi. 15. 'become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.' As the Jewish high-priest wore the ineffable name of Jehovah on his forehead, so he had 'a name written, which none could perfectly comprehend but himself; 'his name is called the Word of God.' He hath likewise another 'name written,' on that part of his vesture which covered his thigh, 'King of kings, and Lord of lords;' a title much affected by the * eastern monarchs, and by Antichrist himself. The pope

is

* *Artaxerxes king of kings* Ezra VII. 12 *Rex regum* Sapor. Anm. Marcell Lib. 17 Cap. 5. p. 163. Edit. Valesii. Paris 1681. βασιλεως βασιλεως.

is * filled ' King of kings, and Lord of lords ;' but what he is only in pretence, Christ is in reality. His armies are mounted ' upon white horses,' as well as himself, and are ' clothed in fine linen, white and clean,' as emblems of their victory and sanctity. ' An angel standing in the sun,' and so conspicuous to all, in lofty strains copied from the ancient prophets, and particularly from Ezekiel, xxxix. 17, 18. calleth the fowls to the great slaughter of Christ's enemies. These enemies are ' the beast and the false prophet,' the Antichristian powers civil and ecclesiastical, with ' their armies gathered together,' their adherents and followers combined and determined to support idolatry, and oppose all reformation. But the principals, as deserving of the greatest punishment, are ' taken, and cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone : ' and their followers are *slain* with the word of Christ, ' the sword which proceeded out of his mouth ; and all the fowls are filled with their flesh ;' their substance is seized for other persons, and for other uses. In a word, the design of this sublime and figurative description is to show the downfall of popery, and the triumph of Christianity : the true word of God will prevail over superstition and idolatry ; all the powers of Antichrist shall be completely subdued ; and the religion of Rome, as well as Rome herself, be totally destroyed.

C H A P. XX.

1 AND I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand.

2 And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the devil and Satan, and bound him a thousand years,

3 And cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled : and after that, he must be loosed a little season.

4 And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment

Ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ δεσποτὴς δεσποτῶν Σίσσυρος. Rex regum, et dominus domorum Sesostris, vel Sesostris. Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 35. Edit. Stephani. Edit. Rhodomani.

* See Jewel's Defence of his Apology, Part 5. and Barrow's Introduction of his Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy.

judgment was given unto them; and I *saw* the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years.

5 But the rest of the dead

lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection.

6 Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection; on such the second death hath no power, but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years.

After the destruction of the beast and of the false prophet, there still remains 'the dragon,' who had delegated his power to them, 'that old serpent, which is the devil and Satan:' but he is bound by 'an angel,' an especial minister of providence; and the famous millennium commences, or the reign of the saints upon earth for a thousand years, ver. 1—6. 'Binding him with a great chain, casting him into the bottomless pit, shutting him up, and sealing a seal upon him, are strong figures to shew the strict and severe restraint which he should be laid under, 'that he might deceive the nations no more,' during this whole period. Wickedness being restrained, the reign of righteousness succeeds, and the administration of justice and judgment is given to the saints of the most High; and the martyrs and confessors of Jesus, not only those who, 'were beheaded,' or suffered any kind of death under the heathen emperors, but also those who refused to comply with the idolatrous worship 'of the beast and of his image,' are raised from the dead, and have the principal share in the felicities of Christ's kingdom upon earth.' 'But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished;' so that it was a peculiar prerogative of the martyrs and confessors above the rest of mankind. 'This is the first resurrection,' a particular resurrection preceding the general one at least a thousand years. 'Blessed and holy' too 'is he who hath part in the first resurrection;' he is *holy* in all the senses of the word, *holy* as separated from the common lot of mankind,

ranked, *holly* as endowed with all virtuous qualifications, and none but such are admitted to partake of this blessed state. 'On such the second death hath no power.' 'The second' death is a Jewish phrase for the punishment of the wicked after death. So the * Chaldee paraphrase of Onkelos upon that text in Deuteronomy, xxxiii. 6. 'Let Reuben live, and not die, *bath* Let him not die the second death;' and the other paraphrases of Jonathan Ben Uzziel and of Jerusalem have 'Let him not die the second death by which the wicked die in the world to come. It is a familiar phrase in the Chaldee paraphrases and Jewish writings, and in this very book, xx. 14. xxi. 8. it is declared to be the same as 'the lake burning with fire and brimstone.' The sons of the resurrection therefore shall not die again, but shall live in eternal bliss, as well as enjoy all the glories of the millennium, 'be priests of God and of Christ, and reign with him a thousand years.'

Nothing is more evident than that this prophecy of the millennium, and of the first resurrection, hath not yet been fulfilled, even though the resurrection be taken in a figurative sense. For reckon the thousand years with Usher from the time of Christ, or reckon them with Grotius from the time of Constantine, yet neither of these periods, nor indeed any other, will answer the description and character of the millennium, the purity and peace, the holiness and happiness of that blessed state. Before Constantine indeed the church was in greater purity; but was groaning under the persecutions of the heathen emperors. After Constantine, the church was in greater prosperity, but was soon shaken and disturbed by heresies and schisms, by the incursions and devastations of the northern nations, by the conquering arms and prevailing imposture of the Saracens, and afterwards of the Turks, by the corruption, idolatry, and wickedness, the usurpation, tyranny, and cruelty of the church of Rome. If Satan was then *bound*, when can he be said to be *loosed*? Or how could 'the saints and the beast,' Christ and Antichrist, reign at the same period? This prophecy there-

* Non moriatur morte secunda. Onk. Nec moriatur morte qua morientur improbi in futuro seculo Jonath. Neque moriatur morte secunda qua moriuntur improbi in futuro seculo. Hieron.

less remains yet to be fulfilled, even though the resurrection be taken only for an allegory, which yet the text cannot admit without the greatest torture and violence. For with what propriety can it be said, that some of the dead, 'who were beheaded lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years, but the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished,' unless *the dying and living again* be the same in both places, a proper death and resurrection? Indeed the *death and resurrection* of the witnesses before mentioned, Chap. xi. appears from the concurrent circumstances of the vision to be figurative, but the *death and resurrection* here mentioned must for the very same reasons be concluded to be real. If the martyrs rise only in a spiritual sense, then 'the rest of the dead,' rise only in a spiritual sense; but if 'the rest of the dead,' really rise, the martyrs rise in the same manner. There is no difference between them; and we should be cautious and tender of making the first resurrection an allegory, lest others should reduce the second into an allegory too, like those whom St Paul mentions, 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18.. 'Hymeneus and Philetus, who concerning the truth have erred, saying, that the resurrection is past already, and overthrow the faith of some.' It is to this first resurrection that St Paul alludes, when he affirms, 1 Thes. iv. 16. that 'the dead in Christ shall rise first,' and, 1 Cor. xv. 23. that 'every man shall be made alive in his own order, Christ the first fruits, afterward they that are Christ's at his coming, and then cometh the end, after the general resurrection.

In the general that there shall be such a happy period as the millennium, that 'the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the most High,' Dan. vii. 27. that Christ shall have 'the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession,' Psal. ii. 8. 'that the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea,' Is. xi. 9. 'that the fulness of the Gentiles shall come in, and all Israel shall be saved,' Rom. xi. 25, 26. in a word that the kingdom of heaven shall be established upon earth, is the plain and express doctrine of Daniel and all the prophets as well as of St John: and we daily pray

for the accomplishment of it in praying, 'Thy kingdom come.' But of all the prophets St John is the only one who hath declared particularly and in express terms, that the martyrs shall rise to partake of the felicities of this kingdom, and that it shall continue upon earth a thousand years : and the Jewish church before him, and the Christian church after him, have farther believed and taught, that these thousand years will be the seventh millenary of the world. A pompous heap of quotations might be produced to this purpose both from Jewish and Christian writers : but I choose to select only a few of the most material of each sort ; you may find a great number † in Dr Burnet and other authors who have treated of this subject.

Of the Jewish writers † Rabbi Ketina, as cited in the Gemara or gloss of their Talmud, said that "the world endures six thousand years, and one thousand it shall be laid waste, (that is the enemies of God shall be destroyed) whereof it is said, *Is. ii. 11. The Lord alone shall be exalted in that day.* Tradition assents to Rabbi Ketina : As out of seven years every seventh is the year of remission, so out of the seven thousand years of the world the seventh millenary shall be the millenary of remission that *God alone may be exalted in that day.*" It was ‡ the tradition of the house of Elias, who lived two hundred years or thereabouts before Christ, and the tradition might perhaps be derived from Elias the Tishbite, that "the world endures six thousand years, two thousand before the Law, two thousand under the Law, and two thousand

* Burnet's Theory. B. 3. Ch. 5. B. 4. Ch. 6. Mede Placita Doctorum Hebræorum de Magno die Judicii. p. 535. B. 5. Ch. 3. page 89, &c. &c.

† Dixit Rabbi Ketina, Sex annorum millibus stat mundus, et uno (millenario) vastabitur ; de quo dicitur, *Et exaltabitur Dominus solus die illa.* Traditio ad stipulatur R. Ketinæ : Sicut ex septenis annis septimus quisque annus remissionis est, ita ex septem millibus annorum mundi septimus millenarius millenarius remissionis erit, ut *Dominus solus exaltetur in die illa.* In Gemara Shanhedrim, apud Mede p. 535. et p. 893.

* Traditio domus Eliæ : Sex mille annos durat mundus : his mille annis humanitas ; his mille annis Lex ; denique his mille annis dies Christi. apud Mede. p. 536, et p. 894. Burnet's Theory. B. 3. Chap. 3.

thousand under the Messiah. It was also * the tradition of the house of Elias, that "the just whom God shall raise up (meaning in the first resurrection) shall not be turned again into dust. Now if you enquire, how it shall be with the just in those thousand years wherein the holy blessed God shall renew his world, whereof it is said, *And the Lord alone shall be exalted in that day*; you must know that the holy blessed God will give them the wings as it were of eagles, that they may fly upon the face of the waters: when it is said, Psal. xli. 2. *Therefore will we not fear, when the earth shall be changed*. But perhaps you will say, it shall be a pain and affliction to them. Not at all, for it is said, Is. xl. 31. *They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength, they shall mount up with wings as eagles*."

Of the Christian writers St Barnabas in the first century † thus comments upon those words of Moses, "*And God made in six days the works of his hands, and he finished*

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them

* *Traditio domus Eliæ: Justi quos resuscitabit Deus non redigentur iterum in pulverem. Si quæras autem, Milli annis istis quibus Deus sanctus benedictus renovaturus est mundum suum, de quibus dicitur, Et exaltabitur Dominus solus in die illo, quid justis futurum sit; sciendum, quod Deus sanctus benedictus dabit illis alas quasi aquilarum, ut volent super facie aquarum; unde dicitur Psal. xli. 2. Propterea non timemus, cum mutabitur terra. Ac forte (inquires) erit ipsi dolori seu afflictioni. Sed occurrit illud Is. xl. 30. Exspectantibus Dominum innovabuntur vires, offerentur alia insuper aquilarum apud Mede, p. 776.*

† *Και ποιήσει ὁ Θεὸς ἐν ἡμέραις τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ συντί-
λει ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ καὶ κατεσκευασὲν ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ ἡγιασὲν αὐτὴν·
Προσέχιστι, τίνα, τί λείπει, τί συντίλει ἐν ἡμέραις· τὸτο λείπει. ὅτι
συντίλει ὁ Θεὸς κυρίως ἐν ἑξακισχίλοις ἡμέραις τὰ πάντα. Ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα παρ
αὐτῇ χίλια ἐστὶ, αὐτοὶ δὲ μαρτυροῦν λέγων, ἰδοὺ σημεῖον ἡμέρα ἰσὺς ὡς χίλια,
ἐστὶν· Οὐκὼν, τίνα, ἐν ἡμέραις ἐν τοῖς ἑξακισχίλοις ἡμέραις συντίλεισθῆναι
τὰ πάντα. Καὶ κατεσκευασὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ τὸτο λείπει ὅταν ἰδῶν ὁ
ὁ Θεὸς αὐτῇ καὶ κατεσκευασὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπορεύσῃ καὶ κρινεῖ τοὺς καλοὺς, καὶ ἀλλὰ-
ξῇ τὸν ἅλιον, καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας, τότε καλῶς κατεσκευασταὶ ἐν
τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ. *Fecitque Deus in sex diebus opera manuum suarum, et
consummavit in die septima, et in ea requievit, et sanctificavit eam. Ad-
vertere, filii, quid dicat; consummavit in sex diebus: id est; omnia
consummabit Dominus Deus in sex millibus annorum. Nam apud
illum dies equiparatur mille annis, ut ipsemet testatur dicens.
Ecce hodiernus dies erit tanquam mille anni. Itaque, filii in sex diebus,
hoc est, in sex annorum millibus consummabantur universo.
Et requievit die septima: hoc sit; quando veniens ejus filius tempus
Iniqui abolit, ac-judicabit impios, et mutabit solem ac lunam
stellasque, tunc post hunc requiescet in die septima. S. Barnabas
Epist. Cap. 15. Edit. Cotelieri, et Clerici.**

them on the seventh day, and he rested in it, and sanctified it. Consider, children, what that signifies, *he finished them in six days*. This it signifies, that the Lord God will finish all things in six thousand years. For a day with him is a thousand years; as he himself testified saying, *Behold this day shall be as a thousand years*. Therefore children, in six days, that is in six thousand years, shall all things be consummated. *And he rested the seventh day*: this signifies, that when his Son shall come, and shall abolish the season of the wicked one, and shall judge the ungodly, and shall change the sun, and the moon, and the stars, then he shall rest gloriously in that seventh day." Justin Martyr in the second century * declares the millennium to be the catholic doctrine of his time. "I, and as many as are orthodox Christians in all respects, do acknowledge that there shall be a resurrection of the flesh, (meaning the first resurrection) and a thousand years in Jerusalem rebuilt, and adorned, and enlarged, (that is in the new Jerusalem,) as the prophets Ezekiel, and Isaiah, and others unanimously attest." Afterwards he subjoins, "A certain man among us, whose name was John, one of the apostles of Christ, in a revelation made to him, did prophecy that the faithful believers in Christ should live a thousand years in the new Jerusalem, and after these should be the general resurrection and judgment:" which is an early attestation to the genuineness and authenticity of the book of the Revelation; for Justin was converted to Christianity about thirty years after the death of St John, at which

* ἴστω δὲ, καὶ ἡ τινὲς πρὸς οὐλογνῶμις κατὰ πάντα Χριστιανοὶ καὶ σαρκεὶς ἀναστῆναι γινώσκουσιν ἐπιστάμεθα, καὶ χίλια ἔτη ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ, οἰκοδομηθῆσθαι, καὶ κτισθῆσθαι, καὶ πλατυνθῆσθαι, ὥς, οἱ προφῆται Ἰεζεκὴλ καὶ Ἠσαΐας, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὁμολογοῦσιν. Ego autem, et si qui recte per omnia sententiae Christiani sunt, et carnis resurrectionem futuram novimus, et mille annos in Hierusalem instaurata, et exornata, et dilatata, sicut prophetae, Ezek. et Esa: et alii promulgant. Καὶ περὶ τοῦ καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτῆς, ὡς ὄνομα Ἰωάννης, εἰς τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν ἀποκαλύψει γινώσκοντες καὶ χίλια ἔτη ποιήσιν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τὰς τοῦ ἡμετέρου Χριστοῦ πιστεύσαντας περιφθῆναι, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν καθολικὴν καὶ συνελόντι φαναι, αἰωνίαν ὁδομακροῦσαν πάντων ἀναστῆναι γινώσκουσιν καὶ κρίσιν. Et vir apud nos quidam, cui nomen erat Joannes, e duodecim apostolis Christi unus, in ea quae illi exhibita est revelatione Christi fideles nostri annos mille Hierosolymis peracturos esse praedicatus est, et postea universalem et (ut semel dicam) sempiternam omnium unanimiter simul resurrectionem et iudicium futurum. Just. mart. Dial. cum Tryphone Pars Secunda, p. 307. et 308. Ed. Par. p. 313, et 315. Ed. Thiribii.

which time probably many were alive, who had known and remembered the apostle. Dr Middleton in his Inquiry into the miraculous powers, &c. has done great injustice to Justin Martyr as well as to several of the fathers. In treating of the millennium, p. 26. he represents Justin as saying, "that all the saints should be raised in the flesh, and reign with Christ in Jerusalem, enlarged and beautified in a wonderful manner for their reception, in the enjoyment of all sensual pleasures, for a thousand years before the general resurrection." But in the original there is no such clause as that, *in the enjoyment of all sensual pleasures*; it is an addition and interpolation of the Doctor's own, in order to depreciate the venerable father: and he could not possibly have made it by mistake, he must have done it designedly, for he has cited the original as far as to that clause, and there stopping short has concealed the rest with an &c. If he had fairly cited the whole sentence (as I have done above) he was sensible, that every scholar must have detected the imposition. It is seriously to be lamented, that so learned and ingenious a man, and so very fine a writer as Dr Middleton was, should in support of any argument have been guilty of so many false quotations as he has been, more than any author I know. Forgery should be deemed a capital offence in literary as well as in civil affairs. It has been the fate of Justin to have his sense misrepresented by others as well as by Dr Middleton. For he has been made to say that the doctrine of the millennium had not, even in his time, obtained universal reception but that many Christians of pure and pious principles rejected it, it should have been said, *did not acknowledge it*, *ταυτο μη γνωρίζον*. But Justin could not so palpably contradict himself. The whole context evidently demonstrates, that we should read, with Mede and Tillotson, the passage with a negative, *οι της καθαράς και ιουδαίας* that many not of pure and pious principles did not acknowledge it. For some, says he, are called Christians, but are atheistical and ungodly heretics. *οις γαρ λεγομενους μη χριστιανους ουτως δι' αβυσσος και ασυμμετρον αιρεσιωδης*. A manifest proof, that they were men not of pure and godly principles. A little after he subjoins, that some are Christians, and do not confess this, and deny the resurrection of the dead; *οις λεγομενους χριστιανους, και ταυτο μη ομολογουσιν, και λεγουσιν*

AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION. And then after all follows what was cited before, "But I, and as many as are orthodox Christians in all respects, do acknowledge that there shall be a resurrection of the flesh and a thousand years in Jerusalem, &c." He thought the doctrine of the millennium of such consequence that he has joined it all along with that of the resurrection of the dead. It is evident, therefore, that he never meant to say, that they who rejected this doctrine were Christians of pure and pious principles, but the contrary. Tertullian at the beginning of the third century * professeth his belief of the kingdom promised to the saints on earth, of their resurrection for a thousand years, of their living in the new Jerusalem, and therein enjoying all spiritual delights, and of the destruction of the world and the general judgment after the thousand years: and his books of *Paradise and of the hope of the faithful*, if they had not been lost or suppressed, might have afforded ampler proofs of all these particulars. Lactantius at the beginning of the fourth century † is very copious upon this subject in the seventh book of his *Divine Institutions*. He saith, "Because all the works of God were finished in six days, it is necessary that the world should remain in this state six ages, that is six thousand years." And again, "because having finished the works he rested on the seventh day, and blessed it; it is necessary that at the end of the six thousandth year all wickedness should be abolished out of the earth, and

* Nam et consistemus in terra nobis regnum repromissum, &c. Tertull. advers. Marcion. Lib. 5. Cap. 24. Edit. Rigaltii. Paris 1675.

† Quoniam sex diebus cuncta Dei opera perfecta sunt; per secula sex, id est annorum sex millia, manere hoc statu mundum necesse est.—Et Christus quoniam perfectis operibus requievit die septimo, eumque benedixit; necesse est, ut in fini sexti millennii anni malitia omnis aboleatur e terra, et regnet per annos mille justitia, Cap. 14. Verum ille, cum deleverit injustitiam,—ac justos, quia principio fuerint, ad vitam restauraverit, mille inter homines versabitur, cosque justissimo imperio reget—Sub idem tempus etiam princeps daemonum—catenis vincietur, et erit in custodia mille annis celestis imperii, quo justitia in orbe regnabit, ne quod malum adversus populum Dei molitur, Cap. 24. Sed idem, cum mille anni regni, hoc est septem millia, ceperint terminari; solvetur denuo, &c. Cum vero completi fuerint mille anni,—et, sex, cuncta illa et publica omnium resurrectio, in qua excitabuntur sepulti ad cruciatum sempiternum.—Hæc est doctrina sanctorum prophetarum, quam Christiani sequimur: hæc nostra sapientia, Cap. 26.

and justice should reign for a thousand years." He saith, "When the Son of God shall have destroyed injustice, and shall have restored the just to life, he shall be conversant among men a thousand years, and shall rule them with most just government. At the same time the prince of devils shall be bound with chains, and shall be in custody the thousand years of the heavenly kingdom, while justice shall reign in the world, lest he should attempt any evil against the people of God." He saith, "When the thousand years of the kingdom, that is seven thousand years shall draw towards a conclusion, Satan shall be loosed again: and when the thousand years shall be completed, then shall be that second and public resurrection of all, wherein the unjust shall be raised to everlasting torments." And having enlarged upon these topics he concludes, "This is the doctrine of the holy prophets which we Christians follow; this is our wisdom." In short the doctrine of the millennium was generally believed in the three first and purest ages; and this belief, as the * learned Dodwell hath justly observed, was one principal cause of the fortitude of the primitive Christians; they even coveted martyrdom, in hopes of being partakers of the privileges and glories of the martyrs in the first resurrection.

Afterwards the doctrines grew into disrepute for various reasons. Some both Jewish and Christian writers have debased it with a mixture of fables; they have described the kingdom more like a sensual than a spiritual kingdom, and thereby they have not only exposed themselves, but (what is infinitely worse) the doctrine itself to contempt and ridicule. It hath suffered by the misrepresentations of its enemies, as well as by the indiscretions of its friends; many like † Jerome, have charged the millennarians with absurd and impious opinions which they never held; and rather than they would admit the truth

* Jam in millennii regno primam fore resurrectionem corporum crediderunt primævi Christiani. Et ut justorum propriam eam crediderunt resurrectionem, ita martyrum in ea portionem longe esse præcipuam—Haec cum ita crederentur, dici nequit quantum martyres illius ætatis martyrii studio inflammarentur. Dodwelli Dissert. Cyprian XII. De martyrum fortitudine, Sect.

20, 21.

† See Mede's Works, B. 3. Chap. 5. D. Hieronymi Pronuntiatæ de Dogmate millennariorum, p. 897.

truth of the doctrine, they have not scrupled to call in question the genuineness of the book of the Revelation. It hath been abused even to worse purposes; it hath been made an engine of faction; and turbulent fanatics, under the pretence of saints, have aspired to dominion, and disturbed the peace of civil society. Besides wherever the influence and authority of the church of Rome have extended, she hath endeavoured by all means to discredit this doctrine; and indeed not without sufficient reason, this kingdom of Christ being founded upon the ruins of the kingdom of Antichrist. No wonder therefore that this doctrine lay depressed for many ages, but it sprang up again at the Reformation, and will flourish together with the study of the Revelation. All the danger is, on one side, of pruning and lopping it too short, and on the other of suffering it to grow too wild and luxuriant. Great caution, soberness, and judgment are required to keep the middle course. We should neither with some interpret it into an allegory, nor depart from the literal sense of scripture without absolute necessity for so doing. Neither should we with others indulge an extravagant fancy, nor explain too curiously the manner and circumstances of this future state. It is safest and best faithfully to adhere to the words of scripture, or to fair deductions from scripture: and to rest contented with the general account, till time shall accomplish and eclairsice all the particulars.

7 And when the thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison.

8 And shall go out to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to battle; the number of whom is as the sand of the sea.

9 And they went up on the breadth of the earth,

and compassed the camp of the saints about and the beloved city; and fire came down from God out of heaven, and devoured them.

10 And the devil that deceived them, was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the beast and the false prophet are, and shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever.

At the expiration of the thousand years, ver. 7—10. the restraint shall be taken off from wickedness, and for 'a little season' as it was said before, ver. 3. 'Satan shall be loosed out of his prison,' and make one effort more to re-establish his kingdom. As he deceived our first parents in the paradisiacal state, so he shall have the privilege 'to deceive the nations' in this millennial kingdom, to show that no state or condition upon earth is exempted and secured from sinning. The nations, whom he shall deceive, are described as living in the remotest parts of the world; 'in the four quarters of the earth,' *in quatuor angulis terrae* *quatuor angulis terrae*, 'in the four angles or corners of the earth;' and they are distinguished by the name of 'Gog and Magog,' and are said to be as numerous 'as the sand of the sea.' 'Gog and Magog' seem to have been formerly the general name of the northern nations of Europe and Asia, as the *Scythians* have been since, and the *Tartars* are at present. In Ezekiel there is a famous prophecy concerning 'Gog and Magog,' and this prophecy alludes to that in many particulars. Both that of Ezekiel and this of St John remain yet to be fulfilled; and the more we cannot be absolutely certain that they may not both relate to the same event, but it appears more probable that they relate to different events. The one is expected to take effect before, but the other will not take effect till after the millennium. 'Gog and Magog' in Ezekiel are said expressly, xxxviii. 6, 15. xxxix. 2. to come from 'the north quarters' and 'the north parts,' but in St John they come from 'the four quarters or corners of the earth.' 'Gog and Magog,' in Ezekiel, bend their forces against the Jews resettled in their own land, but in St John they march up against 'the saints' and church of God in general. 'Gog and Magog' in Ezekiel are with very good reason supposed to be the Turks, but the Turks are the authors of 'the second woe, and the second woe,' xi. 14. 'is past before the third woe, and the third woe long precedes the time here treated of. Ezekiel's prophecy apparently coincides with the latter part of the eleventh chapter of Daniel, and presignifies the destruction of the Ottoman empire, which includes *Gomer* and many European, as well as *Ethiopia*, *Lybia*, and other nations. If 'Gog and Magog' in St John are the same with

with those in Ezekiel, then we must suppose the Ottoman empire to subsist throughout the millennium, which can hardly be believed, as it can hardly be reconciled with other prophecies. It may therefore be concluded that 'Gog and Magog' as well as *Sodom*, and *Egypt*, and *Babylon*, are mystic names in this book; and the last enemies of the Christian church are so denominated, because 'Gog and Magog' appear to be the last enemy of the Jewish nation. Who they shall be, we cannot pretend to say with any the least degree of certainty. It is a strange whimsical absurd paradox of * Dr Burnet, but his hypothesis betrayed him into it, that they shall be "sons of the earth, generated from the slime of the ground and the heat of the sun, as brute creatures were at first." Mr Mede's † conjecture is much more rational, that they shall be the nations of America, the nations of America being in all probability colonies or descendants from the Scythians, that is from 'Gog and Magog.' Whoever they shall be, they shall come up from 'the four corners of the earth on the breadth of the earth, and shall compass the camp of the saints about, and the beloved city,' the new Jerusalem with the saints encamped around it, as the Israelites encamped around the tabernacle in the wilderness. But they shall not succeed and prosper in their attempts; they shall not be able to hurt the church and city of God, but shall be destroyed, in an extraordinary manner, by 'fire from heaven:' and 'the devil' himself, the promoter and leader of this new apostasy and rebellion against God and his Christ, shall not only be confined as before, but shall be 'cast into the lake of fire and brimstone,' where he shall be punished together with 'the beast and the false prophet,' who were cast in before him, 'and shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever.'

11 And I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it, from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them.

12 And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God; and the books were opened: and another book was opened, which is the book of life: and the dead

* Burnet's Theory. B. 4. Chap. 10.

† De Gogo et Magogo in Apocalypsi Conjectura, in Mede's Works, B. 3. p. 574. Fulleri Miscell. Sacra. Lib. 2. Cap. 4. in fine.

were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works.

13 And the sea gave up the dead which were in it; and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them; and they were judged every man according to

their works.

14 And death and hell were cast into the lake of fire: This is the second death.

15 And whatsoever was not found written in the book of life, was cast into the lake of fire.

After this last conflict and the final defeat of Satan, there follows, ver. 11—15. the general resurrection and judgment, represented in a vision of a great white throne, 'great to show the largeness and extent, *white* to show the justice and equity of the judgment, and 'one sitting on it,' who can be none other than the Son of God, for, John v. 22. 'The Father hath committed all judgment unto the Son; from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them,' so that this is properly *the end of the world*. 'The dead,' both *small* and *great*, of all ranks and degrees, as well those who perished at sea and were buried in the waters, as those who died at land and were buried in the graves, are all raised, and stand before the judgment-seat of God, where 'they are judged every man according to their works,' as exactly as if all their actions had been recorded in books. They who are found not worthy to be enrolled in the registers of heaven are 'cast into the lake of fire:' whither also were cast 'death and hell or the grave,' who are here personified, as they are likewise in other places of holy scripture. It may seem strange that *death* should be 'cast into the lake of fire which is the second death;' but the meaning is that *temporal death*, which hitherto had exercised dominion over the race of men, shall be totally abolished, and with respect to the wicked be converted into *eternal death*. Then, 'as St Paul saith, 1 Cor. xv. 24, 26. 'shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory: for the last enemy that shall be destroyed is death.'

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

1 **A**ND I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea.

2 And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.

3 And I heard a great voice out of heaven saying, Behold the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God.

4 And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and their shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away.

5 And he that sat upon the throne, said, Behold, I make all things new. And he said unto me, Write: for these words are true and faithful.

6 And he said unto me, It is done. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end: I will give unto him that is athirst, of the fountain of the water of life freely.

7 He that overcometh shall inherit all things, and I will be his God and he shall be my son.

8 But the fearful, and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone: which is the second death.

'A new heaven and a new earth,' ver. 1. succeeded in the room of 'the first heaven and the first earth,' which 'passed away,' xx. 11. at the general judgment. In the new earth there is this remarkably property, that 'there is no more sea, which whether it shall be effected by the means which the theorists of the earth have prescribed or by any other, time must discover: but it is evident from hence, that this new heaven and earth are not designed to take place till after the general judgment, for at the general judgment, xx. 13. 'the sea gave up the dead which were in it.' Many understand the expression figuratively

* Burnet's Theory. B. 4. Chap. 2. Weston's Theory. B. 4. Chap.

figuratively, that there shall be *no troubles or commotions* in this new world. In this new world too, 'the new Jerusalem' appears, ver. 2. in full glory and splendour. It is described as 'coming down from God out of heaven:' it is a city, whose builder and maker is God; and is 'adorned as the bride for the Lamb,' the true church of Christ: and the new Jerusalem, the true church of Christ, subsists as well during the millennial kingdom as after it. At the commencement of the millennium it was said, xix. 7. 'The marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready.' At the conclusion of the millennium Gog and Magog went up, xx. 9. against 'the beloved city:' and here it is represented as the metropolis of the new heaven and the new earth. The new Jerusalem shall be the habitation of the saints of the first resurrection, and it shall also be the habitation of the saints of the general resurrection. The church of Christ shall endure through all times and changes in this world, and likewise in the world to come; it shall be glorious upon earth during the millennium, and shall be more glorious still in the new earth after the millennium to all eternity. Earth shall then become as heaven, or rather it shall be a heaven upon earth, ver. 3. God dwelling visibly among men: and ver. 4. 'there shall be no more death,' which cannot come to pass, till death shall be totally abolished, xx. 14. by being 'cast into the lake of fire,' and till the former things, 'the first heaven and the first earth,' are passed away. He 'who sat upon the throne' as judge of the world, xx. 11, declares ver. 5. 'Behold, I make all things new;' He is the author of this second as well as of the first creation, and he commands these things to be written for the edification and consolation of his church with a firm assurance of their truth and certainty. He pronounces this period, ver. 6, 7, 8. to be *the consummation* of all things, when the promises of God, and the desires of his faithful servants shall all be fully accomplished; 'the righteous shall inherit all things,' but the profligate and immoral shall have their portion in the lake of fire and brimstone; which is a farther demonstration, that these things cannot take effect till after the general judgment.

Many, I know, both ancients and moderns, make the millenium synchronize with the new heaven and the new earth ; and some latitude of interpretation may be well allowed in these mysterious points of futurity : but this order of things, and interpretation of the words, appear to me most natural, and most agreeable to the context. Gog and Magog, the nations in the four corners of the earth, are deceived by Satan after the expiration of the millennium ; but Gog and Magog are not inhabitants of the new heaven and the new earth. It is not our business to frame theories and invent hypotheses, but faithfully to follow the word of God as our sureⁿ guide, without regarding much the authority of men. Not but various authorities might be cited to shew that this is no novel opinion. As St Barnabas * says, " When the Lord shall make all things new, then shall be the beginning of the eighth day, which is the beginning of another world ;" allowing six thousand years to the duration of this world, the seventh thousand to the millennium, and the eighth thousand to the beginning of a blessed eternity : and you may find many more testimonies alledged to this purpose in the notes of Cotelerius and other critics upon this passage of St Barnabas. Lactantius † affirms, that " when the thousand years shall be completed, the world shall be renewed by God, and the heavens shall be folded up, and the earth shall be changed ; and God shall transform men into the similitude of angels ; and they shall be white as snow, and shall be always conversant in the sight of the Almighty, and shall sacrifice to the Lord, and serve him for ever." St Austin also ‡ declares, that " the judgment

* ἡμεῖς τὸν διὰ καὶ τὸν πατέρα ὑπὸ κυρίου—ἀρχὴν ἡμεῖς οὐδενός, ὁ ἰσὺς ἀλ-
λὰ κυρίου ἀρχῆς. Novatis vero cunctis a Domino—octavi dici
initium, hoc est initium ulterius mundi. Sancti Barnab. Epist. Cap.
15. Vide etiam Notas Cotelerii, &c.

† Cum vero completi fuerint mille anni, renovabitur mundus a Deo, et cælum multiplicabitur, et terra mutabitur; et transformabit Deus homines in similitudinem angelorum; et erunt candidi sicut nix; et versabuntur semper in conspectu omnipotentis, et domino suo sacrificabant, in seruiant in æternum. Lactant. Lib. 7. Cap. 26.

† Peractio quippe iudicio tunc esse definit hoc cælum et hæc terra, quando incipiet esse cælum novum et terra nova. *Metaphorice* utamur rerum, non omni modo interitus transibit hic mundus. Unde et apostolus ait; *Præterit enim figura hujus mundi.* S. August. de Civitate dei. Lib. 19. Cap. 14. p. 447. Tom. 7. Edit. Benedic. Ant.

THE PROPHECIES

judgment being finished, then this heaven and this earth shall cease to be, when the new heaven and the new earth shall begin to be. For by a mutation of things this world will pass away, nor by an utter extinction. Whence also the apostle says, 1 Cor. vii. 31. *that the fashion of this world passeth away.*" And indeed why should the new heaven and the new earth be destroyed, when there shall be no more sin, when 'there shall be no more curse,' when 'there shall be no more death?' The heaven and the earth of old, 2 Pet. iii. 5, for the wickedness of man 'perished by water: The heaven and the earth which are now, are reserved unto fire against the day of judgment, and perdition of ungodly men;' but why should not 'the new heaven and the new earth,' be preserved, 'wherein dwelleth righteousness?'

9 And there came unto me one of the seven angels, which had the seven vials full of the seven last plagues, and talked with me, saying, Come hither, I will shew thee the bride, the Lamb's wife.

10 And he carried me away in the spirit to a great and high mountain, and shewed me that great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God.

11 Having the glory of God: and her light was like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper-stone, clear as chrystal;

12 And had a wall great and high, and had twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels, and names written thereon, which are the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel.

13 On the east, three gates; on the north, three gates; on the south, three gates; and on the west, three gates.

14 And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb.

15 And he that talked with me, had a golden reed to measure the city, and the gates thereof, and the wall thereof.

16 And the city lieth four-square, and the length is as large as the breadth: and he measured the city with the reed, twelve thousand furlongs: the length, and the breadth, and the height of it are equal.

17 And he measured the wall thereof, an hundred and forty and four cubits, according

according to the measure of a man, that is, of the angel.

18 And the building of the wall of it was of jasper; and the city *was* pure gold, like unto clear glass.

19 And the foundations of the wall of the city *were* garnished with all manner of precious stones. The first foundation *was* jasper; the second, saphire; the third, a chalcedony; the fourth, an emerald;

20 The fifth, sardonyx; the sixth, sardius; the seventh, chrysolith; the eighth, beryl; the ninth, a topaz; the tenth, a chrysolprasus; the eleventh, a jacinth; the twelfth, an amethyst.

21 And the twelve gates *were* twelve pearls; every several gate was of one pearl: and the street of the city *was* pure gold, as it were transparent glass.

22 And I saw no temple therein: for the Lord God

almighty, and the Lamb are the temple of it.

23 And the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon to shine in it; for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof.

24 And the nations of them which are saved, shall walk in the light of it: and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it.

25 And the gates of it shall not be shut at all by day: for there shall be no night there.

26 And they shall bring the glory and honour of the nations into it.

27 And there shall in no wise enter into it any thing that defileth, neither *whatsoever* worketh abomination, or *maketh* a lie: but they which are written in the Lamb's book of life.

A more particular description is afterwards given of the new Jerusalem. 'One of the seven angels who had the seven vials;' ver. 9. and most probably the same angel, who before had shewed to St John, xvii. 1, &c. the mystic Babylon and her destruction, now sheweth by way of contrast the new Jerusalem and her glory. For this purpose, ver. 10. 'he carrieth him away in the spirit to a great and high mountain;' in the same manner as Ezekiel, xl. 2. 'was brought in the visions of God, and set upon a very high mountain,' to see the frame of the city and temple: and this description of the new Jerusalem is an assemblage of the sublimest richest imagery of Ezekiel

Ezekiel and other ancient prophets. 'The glory of God,' or the divine Shechinah, ver. 11. illuminates the city. It hath, ver. 12, 13, 14. 'a wall great and high,' to shew its strength and security; 'the twelve gates' with *angels* for guards, 'three on the east, three on the north, three on the south, and three on the west,' to shew that people of all climates and nations may have access to it. On 'the twelve gates' are written 'the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel,' as on 'the twelve foundations' are inscribed 'the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb,' to signify that the Jewish and the Christian church are now united, and, Eph. ii. 20. 'built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone.' The angel hath, ver. 15, 16, 17. a measuring reed, as the angel had likewise in Ezekiel; xl. 3. and the measures of the city and of the walls are formed by the multiplication of *twelve*, the number of the apostles. 'The city lieth four-square, the length as large as the breadth,' according to the pattern of Jerusalem in Ezekiel; xlviii. 16. and 'the length and breadth and height,' of the walls and buildings are every where of the same beauty, strength, and proportion. It is 'built and garnished with gold and all manner of precious stones,' ver. 18—21. as the richest emblems of eastern wealth and magnificence; the stones resembling those in Aaron's breast-plate, to denote that the *Urim* and *Thummim*, the *light* and *perfection* of God's oracle are there. It hath one remarkable peculiarity, ver. 22. that there is 'no temple therein;' for the whole is the temple of God and of the Lamb. 'The glory of God and the Lamb,' ver. 23. 'shine in it' with a lustre superior to the sun and moon. All they 'who are saved,' ver. 24—27. 'walk continually in the light of it; for the gates are never shut, and no night is there.' It is the centre of 'glory and honour;' all the wicked are excluded, and only good Christians are admitted, 'they who are written in the Lamb's book of life.'

C H A P. XXII.

AND he shewed me a of life, clear as crystal,
 pure river of water proceeding out of the
 throne

throne of God, and of the Lamb.

2 In the midst of the street of it, and of either side of the river, *was there the tree of life, which bare twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month: and the leaves of the trees were for the healing of the nations.*

3 And there shall be no more curse: but the throne

of God and of the Lamb shall be in it: and his servants shall serve him.

4 And they shall see his face; and his name shall be in their foreheads.

5 And there shall be no night there, and they need no candle, neither light of the sun; for the Lord God giveth them light: and they shall reign for ever and ever.

The five verses of this chapter are a continuation of the description of the new Jerusalem. It is further described with 'the river of life and the tree of life,' as if paradise was restored and improved. 'A river flowing through the midst of the streets, and trees growing on either side of the river,' are wonderfully pleasing and agreeable objects, especially in the hot eastern countries. Of the fruits there is such plenty and abundance, that all may freely partake of them at all seasons; and the very leaves are for the healing of the nations; by all which is signified the blessedness of immortality without any infirmities. Then too 'there shall be no more curse, as there is in this present world ever since the fall of man: but the blessed inhabitants shall enjoy, the so much talked of *beatific vision*, shall live in the light of God's countenance, and 'serve him, and reign for ever and ever.'

6 And he said unto me, These sayings are faithful and true. And the Lord God of the holy prophets sent his angel to shew unto his servants the things which

must shortly be done.

7 Behold, I come quickly: blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book.

In the conclusion the angel, ver. 6, 7. ratifies and confirms all these particulars by a repetition of the same solemn assurance which he had before given, *xix. 1. 2.* that 'these sayings are faithful and true:' and he was commissioned

commissioned by the same God, who had inspired the ancient prophets, 'to shew the things which must shortly be done,' which would very soon begin in part to be fulfilled, and in process of time would be completed. 'Behold, I come quickly,' saith he; for we may observe that the angel speaketh sometimes in his own person, and sometimes in the person and character of Christ, whose ambassador and representative he was. Christ is said to *come* upon any notable and illustrious manifestation of his providence; and all these are but so many steps to prepare the way for his last coming to judgment. A blessing too is pronounced, as in the beginning, i. 3. upon those who 'keep the sayings of the prophecy of this book:' and as good Vitringa * devoutly wisheth, May the Lord bestow this grace and favour on us, who have employed some time and pains in the study and explication of this book, that some part of this *blessing* also may descend to us!

8 And I John saw these things, and heard *them*. And when I had heard and seen, I fell down to worship before the feet of the angel, which shewed me these things.

9 Then saith he unto me, See *thou do it not*: for I am thy fellow servant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them which keep the sayings of this book: worship God.

10 And he saith unto me, Seal not the sayings of the prophecy of this book; for the time is at hand.

11 He that is unjust, let him be unjust still: and he which is filthy, let him be filthy still, and he that is

righteous, let him be righteous still: and he that is holy, let him be holy still.

12 And behold, I come quickly; and my reward is with me, to give every man according as his work shall be.

13 I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last.

14 Blessed are they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city.

15 For without are dogs, and forcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie.

16 I

* Praestet nobis hanc gratiam Dominus, qui operam aliquam in illius mediatione collocavimus, et aliqua etiam nobis hujus *beatitudinis* pars obtingat. Vitringa. p. 909.

16 I Jesus have sent mine angel to testify unto you these things in the churches. I am the root and the offspring of David, and the bright and morning star.

17 And the spirit and the bride say, Come. And let him that heareth say, Come. And let him that is athirst, come: And whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely.

18 For I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, If any man shall add unto these things, God

shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book:

19 And if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from the things which are written in this book.

20 He which testifieth these things saith, Surely I come quickly. Amen. Even so, Come, Lord Jesus.

21 The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.

St John, ver. 8, 9. testifieth himself to be the person who 'saw and heard these things:' and in his extacy falling into the same mistake that he had committed before, xix. 10. he is gently corrected in the same manner by the angel: Who ordered him, ver. 10. 'not to seal up this prophecy,' as Daniel's was, xii. 4, 9. 'for the time is at hand,' some of the particulars would very soon be accomplished, as indeed all would in their due season and order. Which he farther enforceth, ver. 11—15. with promises and threatenings, of rewards to the righteous, and of vengeance on the wicked. It was not thought sufficient to represent the angel speaking in the person of Christ, but Christ himself also is introduced, ver. 16. speaking in his own person, and confirming the divine authority of this book, and attesting it to be properly his revelation. 'The spirit and the bride,' ver. 17. that is, 'the spiritual bride,' the true church of Christ, therefore receives it, and ardently wisheth and prayeth for its completion. The book being of this importance and authority, a solemn adjuration is added by Christ himself that no man presume to add any thing to it, or take away any thing from it, ver. 18, 19. 'For I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, If any man shall

shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book; And if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from the things which are written in this book.* Which ought to be seriously considered by all visionaries and enthusiasts on the one hand, who boast their own inventions as divine revelations; and by all sceptics and infidels on the other, who depreciate the value and authority of these predictions. 'He who testifieth these things, saith, Surely I come quickly; ver. 20. he not only attesteth them to be true, but will also come speedily to accomplish them; to which St John answers, and in him the whole church, 'Amen; Even so, Come, Lord Jesus.' He closeth all with the usual apostolical benediction, ver. 21. wishing 'the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ' to the churches of Asia in particular, and to all Christians in general. The conclusion is truly excellent, as well as all other parts of this book: and nothing could be contrived to leave these things with a stronger impression upon the mind of the readers. In the whole from first to last, appears the majesty of the divine revealer, 'the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the author and finisher' of every good work, and of this more especially.

This, as (Sir Isaac Newton * hath hinted; and as Dr Warburton hath fully proved in some discourses, which it is hoped will be printed one time or other for the benefit of the public,) is that 'sure word of prophecy, whereunto' Christians, as St Peter saith, 'do well to take heed' and attend. St Peter, 2 Pet. i. 16, &c. is asserting and establishing the truth of Christ's second coming in power and great glory. 'For we have not followed cunningly devised fables, when we made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, but were eye-witnesses of his majesty.' One illustrious proof of his coming in power and glory was his appearing in glory and majesty at his transfiguration, ver. 17, 18. 'For he

received

* Sir Isaac Newton's Observ. upon the Apoc. chap. 1. p. 240. Dr B. hath since published a discourse upon this subject in the third vol. of his sermons: but his second lecturer (Dr Hallifax) contradicts him herein, and maintains the Revelation to be written after the death of St Peter in the reign of Domitian.

received from God the Father honour and glory, when there came such a voice to him from the excellent glory, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. And this voice which came from heaven we heard, when we were with him in the holy mount.' His appearing once in power and great glory is a good argument, that he may appear again in like manner: and that he not only may, but will, we have a farther assurance of prophecy, ver. 19. 'We have also a more sure word of prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts.' St Peter might mean the prophecies in general which treat of the second coming of Christ, but it appears that the Revelation was principally in his thoughts and intentions. Christ's second coming in power and glory is one principal topic of the Revelation. With this it begins, i. 7. 'Behold, he cometh with clouds: and every eye shall see him.' With this it also concludes, xxii. 20. 'He who testifieth these things, saith, Surely, I come quickly.' Nothing can better answer the character of the Revelation, especially in St Peter's time when as yet scarce any part of it was fulfilled, than 'a light shining in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts.' It openeth more and more like the dawning of the day; and the more it is fulfilled, the better it is understood. Afterwards St Peter proceeds, in the second chapter, to describe, out of this 'sure word of prophecy,' the false prophets and false teachers, who should infect the church; and in the third chapter, the certainty of Christ's coming to judgment, the conflagration of the present heavens and earth, and the structure of the new heavens and earth; and all agreeably to the Revelation. Attention therefore to this book is recommended to us, upon the authority of St Peter as well as of the writer St John: and a double blessing, as we have seen in the book itself, is pronounced upon those who shall study and observe it; first in the beginning, i. 3. 'Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things, which are written therein;' and here again in the end, xxii. 7. 'Blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book.'

Emboldened

Emboldened by which blessings I would humbly pray with Nehemiah, Nehem. xiii. 22. 'Remember me, O my God, concerning this also, and spare me, according to the greatness of thy mercy.'

RECAPITULATION OF THE PROPHECIES RELATING TO
POPERY.

UPON the whole it appears that the prophecies relating to Popery are the greatest, the most essential, and the most striking part of the Revelation. Whatever difficulty and perplexity there may be in other passages, yet here the application is obvious and easy. Popery being the great corruption of Christianity, there are indeed more prophecies relating to that than to almost any other distant event. It is a great object of Daniel's, and the principal object of St Paul's, as well as of St John's prophecies; and these, considered and compared together, will mutually receive and reflect light from and upon each other. It will appear to be clearly foretold, that such a power as that of the pope should be exercised in the Christian church, and should authorise and establish such doctrines and practices, as are publicly taught and approved in the church of Rome. It is not only foretold that such a power should be exercised, but the place and the persons likewise are pointed out, where and by whom it should be exercised. Besides the place and the persons, the time also is signified when it should prevail, and how long it should prevail; and at last, upon the expiration of this term, it shall be destroyed forever more. It is thought proper to represent the prophecies relating to popery in one view, that like the rays of the sun collected in a glass, they may appear with the greater lustre, and have the stronger effect.

I. I say, the spirit of prophecy hath signified beforehand, that there should be such a power as that of the pope and church of Rome usurped in the Christian world: and these predictions are so plain and express, that, was
not

not the contrary evident and undeniable, they might seem to be penned after the event, and to describe things past rather than to foretell things to come. For instance, Hath there now for many ages subsisted, and doth there still subsist a tyrannical, and idolatrous, and blasphemous power, in pretence Christian, but in reality Antichristian? It is the very same power that is pourtrayed in 'the little horn' and 'the blasphemous king' by Daniel, 'in the man of sin the son of perdition' by St Paul, and 'in the ten horned beast and the two horned beast or the false prophet' by St John.—Hath the church apostatised or departed greatly from the purity of Christian faith and worship? It is the very same thing that St Paul hath foretold, 2 Thes. ii. 3. 'The day of the Lord shall not come, except there come a falling away or the apostasy first:' and he saith moreover in another place, 1 Tim. iv. 1. that the Spirit of prophecy (meaning in Daniel) had in express words testified the same thing before, 'Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, or rather apostatize from the faith:' and St John foresaw the church so far degenerated as to become, Rev. xvii. 5. 'the mother of harlots, or whoredoms, and abominations of the earth.'—Doth this apostasy consist chiefly in the worshipping of demons, angels and departed saints, and in honouring them with costly shrines and rich offerings, instead of the worship of 'the one true God through the one true mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus?' Nothing can better agree with the prophecy of St Paul, 1 Tim. iv. 1. 'Some shall apostatize from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines concerning demons; and with the prophecy of Daniel, that the blasphemous king, xi. 38. 'in his estate shall honour Mahuzzim' God's protectors or saints protectors, 'and a God whom his fathers knew not, shall he honour with gold, and silver, and with precious stones, and pleasant things.'—Is the same church, that is guilty of this idolatry, notorious also for enjoining celibacy to her clergy, and engaging her nuns to enter into vows of leading a single life? doth she make a vain distinction of meats, and command and institute certain times and days of fasting, wherein to taste flesh is judged a mortal sin? Nothing can more fully accomplish the prediction of Daniel,

niel, xi. 37. that the blasphemous king, who shall worship Mahuzzim, shall also 'not regard the desire of wives;' and the prediction of St Paul, 1 Tim. iv. 3. that those who shall apostatize from the faith by worshipping of demons, shall no less distinguish themselves by 'forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them who believe and know the truth.'—Doth the pope make himself equal and even superior to God, in affecting divine titles, attributes, and honours; in assuming a power of dispensing with the immutable laws of nature and the gospel: in substituting for the commandments of God the traditions of men; in treading upon the altar of God at his inauguration, and making the table of the Lord his footstool, and in that posture receiving the adoration of his cardinals? It is foretold by Daniel, vii. 25. that the little horn 'shall speak great words against the most High, and think to change times and laws;' and, xi. 36. 'the king shall do according to his will, and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and speak marvellous things against the God of gods;' and in like manner, by St Paul, 2 Theff. ii. 3, 4. 'The man of sin shall be revealed, the son of perdition; who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God.'—Have the bishops of Rome extended their authority and jurisdiction over several countries and nations? have they usurped a supremacy over all the other bishops? partly by menaces, and partly by flatteries, obtained an entire ascendancy over Christian princes; so as to have them zealous members of their communion, blindly devoted to their interest, and ready upon all occasions to fight their battles? It is nothing more than what was foretold by the prophets; by Daniel when he said, vii. 20. that the little horn 'had a mouth speaking very great things, and a look more stout than his fellows;' and by St John when he said, xiii. 7. that 'power was given unto the beast over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations; and, xvi. 2. 'the kings of the earth have committed fornication,' or idolatry, with the whore of Babylon; and, xvii. 13. 'have one mind, and shall give their power and

strength unto the beast.—Hath the church of Rome enlarged the powers of her clergy both regular and secular, given them an almost absolute authority over the ~~purse~~ ^{purse} and consciences of men, enriched them with sumptuous buildings and noble endowments, and appropriated the choicest of the lands for church lands? This was plainly intimated by Daniel speaking of the blasphemous king, as the passage should be translated; xi. 39.—‘Thus shall he do; to the defenders of Mahuzzim, together with the strange god, whom he shall acknowledge, he shall multiply honour, and he shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain.’—Is the church of Rome distinguished above all churches by purple and scarlet colour, by the richness and splendour of her vestments, by the pomp and parade of her ceremonies, inciting and inveigling men with all artifices of ornament and ostentation to join in her communion? This was particularly specified by St John speaking of the mystic whore of Babylon or the corrupted church, xvii. 4.—‘And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and decked with gold and precious stone and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations, and filthiness of her fornication.’—Have the bishops and clergy of Rome in all ages been remarkable for their policy? have they not scrupled to promote their religion by all manner of lies and pious frauds? have they allowed of equivocation and mental reservation in oaths and promises, and with the appearance of *lumps*, in meekness and sanctity, acted like ‘ravens wolves,’ with fury and violence: Daniel hath given the same character of the little horn, vii. 8.—‘Behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things;’ and St Paul of the apostates in the latter times, 1 Tim. ii. 24.—‘Speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron;’ and St John of ‘the two horned beast,’ xiii. 11.—‘And I beheld another beast coming up out of the earth, and he had two horns like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon.’—Doth the church of Rome boast of visions and revelations, and make a show of miracles in attestation of her doctrines? do her legends contain as many spurious and pretended wonders! as the scriptures do genuine and real? From St Paul we learn, 2 Thess.

ii. 9; to. that 'the coming of the son of sin, is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders; and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness; and from St John, xiii. 13, 14. that the false prophet 'doth great wonders in the sight of men, and deceiveth them who dwell on the earth by the means of those miracles which he hath power to do.'—Doth the church of Rome require an implicit obedience, condemn all who will not readily conform as heretics, and excommunicate and exclude them from the civil intercourses of life? so the false prophet in St John, xiii. 16, 17. 'causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads; and that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark of the beast.'—Have the Roman pontiffs occasioned the shedding of as much or more Christian blood than the Roman emperors themselves? have they all along maintained their spiritual sovereignty by secret plots and inquisitions, by open dragoonings and massacres, and imprisoned, and tortured, and murdered the true worshippers of God, and the faithful servants of Jesus Christ? This particular, as well as all the rest, exactly answers the predictions of the prophets. For it is affirmed of the little horn in Daniel, vii. 21, 25. that he 'shall make war with the saints, and shall prevail against them: shall speak great words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High:' and the woman in the Revelation, 'Babylon the great, the mother of harlots,' xvii. 6. is represented as 'drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus,' and, xviii. 24. 'in her was found the blood of prophets, and of saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth.'

Besides these plain and direct prophecies of the corruptions and innovations of the church of Rome, there are several secret glances at them, several oblique intendments and intimations of them.—'Known unto God are all his works from the beginning of the world:' Acts xv. 18. and when the Holy Spirit dictated to the ancient prophets the prophecies concerning Babylon, Tyre, Egypt, and other tyrannical and corrupt governments, he dictated them in such a manner as plainly evinces that he had a farther

view to this last and most tyrannical and corrupt government of all. Babylon, Tyre, Egypt, and the rest, are made the types and emblems of Rome; and many of the particulars predicted concerning the former, are more truly and properly applicable to the latter; and several of them have been applied accordingly by St John. Jeremiah said concerning ancient Babylon, li. 7. 45. 'Babylon hath been a golden cup in the Lord's hand, that made all the earth drunken; the nations have drunken of her wine, therefore the nations are mad: My people, go ye out of the midst of her, and deliver ye every man his soul from the fierce anger of the Lord: But now much more applicable are these expressions, and St John hath applied them, to mystic Babylon or Rome? xvii. 4. xviii. 3, 4. She hath 'a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations: All nations have drunk of the poisonous wine of her fornication: Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.' The prophets themselves might not understand this mystical, and saw perhaps no farther than the literal meaning; but they 'spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost,' 2 Pet. i. 21. who comprehends all events, the most remote as well as the most immediate. —But the intimations of popery, which I particularly meant, are more frequent and more obvious in the New Testament. Why was our blessed Saviour so very cautious in giving honour to the Virgin Mary, that he seemed to regard her less than the least of his disciples? Matt. xii. 48. 'Who is my mother?' John ii. 4. 'Woman, what have I to do with thee?' Luke xi. 27, 28. 'Blessed is the womb that bare thee; Yea, rather blessed are they who hear the word of God, and keep it.' Why did he rebuke St Peter more severely than any other of the apostles, Matt. xvi. 23. 'Get thee behind me, Satan, thou art an offence unto me, for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men; and especially just after giving him that high encomium, ver. 18. 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church?' May we not reasonably presume that he spake and acted thus, as foreseeing that divine worship which would idolatrously be paid to the one, that supremacy which would be tyrannically arrogated to the other, and which

which that very encomium would impertinently be brought to countenance.—How came it to pass that our Saviour in instituting his holy supper, Matt. xxvi. 26, 27. said of the bread, only ‘Take, eat,’ but of the cup more particularly, ‘Drink ye all of it?’ May we not probably suppose that it was designed to prevent or obviate their sacrilege, who would have *all* indeed eat of the bread, but *priests only* drink of the cup?—Why were the vices of the Scribes and Pharisees left so particularly upon record, if not chiefly for the correction and reproof of their natural issue and descendents, the clergy of the church of Rome? Read the whole 23d chapter of St Matthew, and you will find that there is not a single vice denounced against the former, but as properly belongs, and is as strictly applicable to the latter. ‘Binding heavy burdens,’ and grievous to be borne, and laying them on men’s shoulders; doing all their works to be seen of men; shutting up the kingdom of heaven against men, neither going in themselves, neither suffering them who are entering to go in; devouring widows houses, and for a pretence making long prayers; compassing sea and land to make one proselyte, and when he is made, making him twofold more the child of hell than themselves; making useless and frivolous distinctions of oaths; observing positive duties, and ‘omitting the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith; making clean the outside, but within being full of extortion and excess; outwardly appearing righteous unto man, but within being full of hypocrisy and iniquity; building the tombs of the prophets, and garnishing the sepulchres of the righteous,’ honouring the dead saints, and at the same time persecuting the living; are as strong marks and characters of the one sect as they were of the other.—Do not forbidding implicit faith and obedience to man, Matt. xxiii. 9. ‘Call no man your father upon the earth, for one is your Father which is in heaven;’ forbidding the worship of angels, Col. ii. 18. ‘Let no man beguile you of your reward, in a voluntary humility, and worshipping of angels;’ forbidding all pretences to works of merit and supererogation, Luke xvii. 10. ‘When ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you say, We are unprofitable servants, we have done that

that which was our duty to do; forbidding the clergy to lord it over God's heritage, 1 Pet. iv. 3. 'Neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being examples to the flock;' forbidding the service of God in an unknown tongue, as St Paul hath done at large, in the 14th chap. of his first Epistle to the Corinthians; Do not all these and such like prohibitions, I say, necessarily suppose and imply, that one time or other these particular errors and abuses would creep into the church? And in what church they are publicly taught and practised, no man can be insensible. Such texts of scripture are as much *predictions* that these things *would be*, as they are *arguments* that they *should not be*. For laws divine and human are not levelled against chimerical and mere imaginary vices, such as never are, never will be brought into practice, but are enacted by reason of those enormities, which men either have committed or are likely to commit, and which the lawgivers wisely foreseeing are therefore willing to prevent.—Why doth St Paul admonish the Romans particularly to beware of apostasy? Rom. xi. 20, 22. 'Be not high minded, but fear;—otherwise thou also shalt be cut off.' Surely this is a strange way of addressing the Romans, if the church of Rome was designed to be the infallible judge of controversies, the centre of unity, and director of all religion.—View the picture that both St Peter and St Jude have drawn of false teachers, and consider whom it most resembles in all its features, 2 Pet. ii. 1, &c. 'But there were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them; And many shall follow their pernicious ways, by reason of whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of; And through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you,' &c. Jude 4, &c. 'Ungodly men, turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness, and denying the only Lord God and our Lord Jesus Christ; These filthy dreamers defile the flesh, despise dominion, and speak evil of dignities; These be they who separate themselves, sensual, having not the spirit;' &c.—What St Paul had predicted concerning the corruption of the last days, is too much the character of all sects of Christians, but the application more

more properly belongs to the members of the church of Rome, 2 Tim. iii. 1, &c. 'This know also, that in the last days perilous times shall come: For men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy; Without natural affection, truce-breakers, false accusers, incontinent, fierce, despisers of those that are good; Traitors, heady, high minded, lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God; Having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof.'—Such are the direct prophecies, and such the general intimations of popery; and we have the better right to make this application of the general intimations, as the direct prophecies are so plain and particular.

II. It is not only foretold, that such a power as that of the pope and church of Rome should be exercised in the Christian world; but to prevent any mistake in the application of these prophecies, the place and the persons likewise are pointed out, where and by whom it should be exercised. The prophet Daniel, chap. vii. hath described 'four beasts or four kingdoms;' and out of the fourth beast or kingdom, he saith, shall arise 'ten horns or ten kings or kingdoms;' and 'among them or after them shall come up another little horn: and he shall be divers from the rest;' and he shall have 'eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things, and a look more stout than his fellows; and he shall subdue and pluck up by the roots three of the first horns or kings; and shall speak great words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws.' Daniel's first kingdom is the Babylonian, the second is the Persian, the third is the Macedonian or Grecian, and the fourth can be none other than the Roman; and the Roman empire, upon its dissolution, was divided into ten kings or kingdoms. It is in the western or Latin empire that these ten kings or kingdoms are to be sought and found: for this was properly the body of the fourth beast, the Greek or eastern empire belonged to the body of the third beast: and out of the western Roman empire, by the incursions of the northern nations, arose 'ten kings or kingdoms;' of whom having mentioned the names before, we need not repeat

repeat them here. Now who is 'the little horn' that is to spring up among these or after these; who as a political ecclesiastical power *differeth* from the other ten powers; who 'hath eyes like the eyes of a man,' that is, a face, as Sir Isaac Newton says, *incomprehensible* or Bishop in the literal sense of the word; who 'hath a mouth speaking great things,' bulls and anathemas, interdicts and excommunications; who hath a look more stout than his fellows, assuming a supremacy not only over the other bishops, but even a superiority over kings and emperors themselves; who 'hath pluckt up by the roots three of the first horns,' the exarchate of Ravenna, the kingdom of the Lombards, and the state of Rome, and is distinguished by *the triple crown*; who 'speaketh great words against the most High,' setting up himself above all laws divine as well as human who 'wearth out the saints of the most High,' by wars and massacres, inquisitions and persecutions; who 'changeth times and laws,' instituting new religions; and teaching for doctrines the commandments of men; are quest one which I think cannot admit of much dispute: there is only one person in the world who can fully answer all these characters.

The blasphemous king described in the 12th Chapter of Daniel, ver. 36-39, who 'shall do according to his will, and shall exalt himself and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished, who shall not regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of wives, but in his estate shall honour Mahuzzim, and the defenders of Mahuzzim shall increase with glory, and shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain;' is indeed a more general character comprehending the tyrannical and corrupt power of the eastern church as well as of the western. But when we consider, how much and how far the Latin hath prevailed above the Greek church; how the supremacy, which was first claimed by the patriarch of Constantinople, hath been fully established in the bishop of Rome; how much more absolute the will of the Roman pontiff hath been than that of the Byzantine emperor; how the pope hath 'exalted himself and magnified himself,' as a god

god upon earth; how much more the Latins have degenerated from the religion of their fathers than the Greeks; how the desire of single life and the worship of the dead, which first began in the eastern parts, have been carried to the greatest height in the western empire; how much the jurisdiction and authority, the lands and revenues of the Roman clergy have exceeded those of the Greeks; how while the Greek church hath lain oppressed for several centuries, the Roman hath still prospered, and in all probability still may prosper till God's indignation against the Jews be accomplished; in short when we consider, how entirely this character agrees with that of the little horn, and how much better it agrees with the head of the Roman than with the head of the Greek church, the particular application of it to the bishop of Rome may well be justified, especially since St Paul himself hath applied it in the same manner.

St Paul hath drawn the man of sin, the son of perdition, 2 Thess. ii. an exact copy and resemblance of the little horn and the blasphemous king in Daniel; and this man of sin must necessarily be a Christian, and not a Heathen or infidel power, because he is represented as God sitting in the temple of God. He is described too as the head of the apostacy or the falling away from the faith; and this apostacy is afterwards, 1 Tim. iv. defined by St Paul to consist in worshipping of devils, angels and deceased saints: and no man surely can have any reason to doubt, who is the head and leader of this apostacy, the patron and authorizer of this worship. The apostle had communicated to the Thessalonians, what it was that hindered his appearing, ver. 5, 6. Remember ye not that when I was yet with you, I told you these things? And now ye know what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time. What this was the apostle hath no where expressly informed us; but if tradition may be depended upon in any case, it may certainly in this. For it is the constant and current tradition of the fathers, that what withholdeth is the Roman empire; and therefore the primitive Christians in the public offices of the Church prayed for its peace and welfare, as knowing that when the Roman empire should be broken into pieces the empire of the man of sin would be raised on its

DISSECTION

in chap. They make no question, they were fully persuaded, that the successor to the Roman empire in Rome would be 'the man of sin,' and who hath succeeded to the Roman empire in Rome, let the world judge and decide.

St John too hath copied after Daniel, and Chap. xiii. calls the Roman empire, under the same emblem of a beast with ten horns. It is evident that he designed the same as Daniel's fourth or last beast, because he represents him as a composition of the three former, with 'the body of a leopard, the feet of a bear, and the mouth of a lion.' He describes him too with the qualities and properties of 'the little horn,' speaking of the same blasphemies, acting the same cruelties: and having plainly seen what power was intended by the one, we have the less reason to hesitate about the other. But to distinguish him yet more, the number of his name is defined to be 'six hundred and sixty-six.' It was an ancient practice to denote names by numbers; and this number must be reducible into some Greek or Hebrew name, to which all the characters here given may agree. It is an early tradition derived from * Irenaeus, who lived not long after St John's time, and was a disciple of a disciple of this apostle, that the number 666 includes the Greek name *Latinus* or the Latin empire. Or if you prefer a Hebrew name, as St John hath sometimes made use of Hebrew names, it is no less remarkable that this number comprehends also the Hebrew name *Ravina* or the Roman empire. For more clearness and success still, a woman is shewn, Chap. xvii. riding upon the same beast, and her name is 'Babylon the great;' but Babylon was destroyed long before, and by Babylon all agree, was meant Rome. The seven heads of the beast are likewise explained to be 'seven mountains on which the woman sitteth,' which all the world know to be the situation of Rome. The woman herself is also declared to be that great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth; and that can be none other than Rome. Indeed the papists themselves allow (for they cannot but allow) all this to be said of Rome, but then they argue and maintain it to be said of Hohen Roman. But that cannot be; be-

cause

which agrees not with ^{any} ~~actual~~ ^{circumstances} of the pro-
 phesy, and particularly with the woman's being upon
 the beast with 'ten horns; and upon his horns ten crowns;
 which must needs typify the Roman empire, which was
 divided into ten kingdoms, but the Roman empire was
 not divided into ten kingdoms till some years after it be-
 came Christian. St John with the eyes of prophecy saw
 this beast 'rise up out of the sea,' and the angel in his
 exposition saith that he 'shall ascend out of the bottom-
 less pit;' but Heathen Rome had risen and flourished
 many years before this time. This beast cannot represent
 Heathen Rome, because he is superior to heathen Rome,
 to 'the great red dragon in his power, and his seat, and
 great authority.' This beast was to continue and pre-
 par 'forty-two' prophetic months, that is 1260 years; but
 Heathen Rome did not continue 400 years after this time.
 The woman is represented 'as the mother of idolatry,
 with her golden cup intoxicating the inhabitants of the
 earth;' but Heathen Rome ruled more with a rod of
 iron, and was rather an importer of foreign gods and su-
 perstitions than an exporter to other nations. St John
 'wondered with great admiration' when 'he saw the
 woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with
 the blood of the martyrs of Jesus; but wherefore should
 he, who had seen and suffered the persecutions under No-
 roy, wonder so much that Heathens should persecute Chris-
 tians; but that Christians should delight in shedding the
 blood of Christians, was indeed of all wonders the great-
 est. The woman's riding upon the beast under 'his sev-
 enth' head' or last form of government; but the first
 head, which was the imperial form of government, is
 said to be subsisting in St John's time, and 'the sixth'
 was not destroyed, and 'the seventh' or last form did
 not take place till after Rome was become Christian.
 The ten kings 'with one mind gave their power and
 strength unto the beast,' and afterwards 'hate the whore,
 and make her desolate, and burn her with fire;' but never
 did any ten kings unanimously and voluntarily submit to
 Heathen Rome, and afterwards burn her with fire. Rome,
 according to the prophecies, is to be 'utterly burnt with
 fire,' and to be made 'a desolation for ever and ever:'
 but Rome hath never yet undergone this fate, and conse-
 quently

quently Heathen Rome cannot be the subject of these prophecies. In short, from these and all other characters and circumstances, some whereof can never agree with Heathen Rome, and all agree perfectly with Christian Rome, it may, and must be concluded, that not Heathen but Christian, not imperial but papal Rome was intended by these visions.

III. Besides the place and the persons, the *time* also is signified of this tyrannical power, when it should prevail, and how long it should prevail. Daniel mentions these things as being at a very great distance, and, indeed they were at a very great distance in his time. It is said, viii. 26. x. 24. 'the vision is yet for many days;' that it comprehends, viii. 29. 'what shall be in the last end of the indignation:' that it extends, xi. 35, 48. xii. 4, 9. 'even to the time of the end;' that *when* God, xii. 7. 'shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished:' all which and other passages to the same purpose considered, it appears as unaccountable as strange, that ever any man should imagine, as some both ancients and moderns have imagined, that Daniel's prophecies reached not beyond the times of Antiochus Epiphanes. Daniel hath described four great empires, not contemporary, but successive one to another. The fourth and last is represented as the greatest of all, both in extent and in duration. 'It devoureth the whole earth, and treadeth it down, and breaketh it in pieces.' After which it is divided into ten kingdoms, and 'the little horn' groweth not up till after this division. So that this tyrannical power was to arise in the latter days of the Roman empire, after it should be divided into ten kingdoms. From St Paul too we may collect, that the great power of the Roman empire hindered the appearing of 'the man of sin;' but when that power should be diminished and 'taken out of the way,' then should the man of sin be revealed in his time.' St John also refers these events to the same era. Not only the general order and the whole series of his prophecies point to this time, but there are besides particular intimations of it. He describes 'the beast' as 'successor to the great red dragon,' in his power and in his seat, and great authority: but if 'the great red dragon be,'

as he is generally understood to be, the persecuting power or Heathen Rome, then the persecuting power of Heathen Rome must be removed, before 'the beast' can take his place. The beast hath also 'ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns;' so that ten complete kingdoms must arise out of the Roman empire before the appearance of the beast. Of his 'seven heads' it is said, 'Five are fallen,' that is, in St John's time five forms of government were past, 'one is and the other is not yet come,' and the sixth which was then present being the imperial, it necessarily follows, that the seventh or last must be some form of government which must arise after the imperial; and as St John saw the one, we see the other.

It appears then that this Antichristian power was to arise in the latter times of the Roman empire, after an end should be put to the imperial power, and after the empire should be divided into ten kingdoms: and it is not only foretold *when* it should prevail, but moreover *how long* it should prevail. Here we cannot but observe, that the very same period of time is prefixed for its continuance both by Daniel and by St John. Wonderful is the consent and harmony between these inspired writers, as in other circumstances of the prophecy; so particularly in this. In Daniel, vii. 25. 'the little horn' was to 'wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws;' and it is said expressly, that they 'should be given into his hand, until a time, and times, and the dividing of time;' or as the same thing is expressed in another place, xii. 7. 'for a time, times, and a half.' In the Revelation it is said of the *beast*, xiii. 5. to whom in like manner it was given to make war with the saints, and to overcome them, *that power* also was given unto him to continue forty and two months: And 'the holy city,' xi. 2. 'the Gentiles should tread under foot forty and two months.' And 'the two witnesses,' xix. 3. 'should prophesy a thousand two hundred and threescore days clothed in sackcloth.' And the woman the true church of Christ, who fled into the wilderness from persecution, xii. 6, 14. should be fed and nourished there 'a thousand two hundred and threescore days,' or as it is otherwise expressed in the same chapter, for a time, and times, and half a time. Now all these numbers you will

find upon computation to be the same; and each of them to signify 1260 years. For 'a time is a year, and a time and times and the dividing of time or half a time are three years and a half, and three years and a half' are 42 months, and 42 months are 1260 days, and 1260 days in the prophetic file are 1260 years. From all these dates and characters it may fairly be concluded, that the time of the church's great affliction and of the reign of Antichrist will be a period of 1260 years.

To fix the time exactly when these 1260 years begin, and consequently when they will end, is a matter of some niceness and difficulty; and perhaps we must let their conclusion; before we can precisely ascertain their beginning. However it appears to be a very great mistake of some very learned men in dating the commencement of this period too early. This is the capital error of Mr Mede's scheme; which hath led him, and others who have followed his example, into subsequent errors; and what the event hath plainly refuted. For if the reign of Antichrist had begun, as he reckons, about the year 456, its end would have fallen out about the year 1716. The truth is, these 1260 years are not to be reckoned from the *beginning* of these corruptions, from the *rise* of this tyranny, for 'the mystery of iniquity began to work' even in the days of the apostles; but from their full growth and establishment in the world. Of 'the little horn,' who was to wear out the saints of the most High, and to change times and laws, it is said that 'they should be given into his hand,' which can imply no less than the most absolute power and authority over them, 'until a time and times, and the dividing of time.' In like manner, 'the holy city,' the true church of Christ, was to be 'trodden under foot,' which is the lowest state of subjection; 'the two witnesses' were not only to prophesy, but to 'prophesy in sackcloth,' that is in mourning and affliction; 'the woman,' the church, was to abide in 'the wilderness,' that is in a forlorn and desolate condition; and 'power was given to the beast' *women*, not merely 'to continue' as it is translated, but 'to practise and prosper,' and 'to do according to his will; and all this same period of 1260 years. These 1260 years therefore of the reign of Antichrist are not to be computed

ted from his birth, or infancy, or youth; but from his coming to maturity, from his coming to the throne: and in my opinion their beginning cannot be fixed consistent with the truth of history either sooner or later than in the eighth century. Several memorable events happened in that century. In the * year 727, the pope and people of Rome revolted from the exarch of Ravenna, and shook off their allegiance to the Greek emperor. In the year 755 the pope obtained the exarchate of Ravenna for himself, and thenceforwards acted as an absolute temporal prince. In the year 774, the pope by the assistance of Charles the great became possessed of the kingdom of the Lombards. In the year 787, the worship of images was fully established, and the supremacy of the pope acknowledged, by the second council of Nice. From one or other of these transactions it is probable, that the beginning of the reign of Antichrist is to be dated. What appears to be most probable is, that it is to be dated from the year 727, when (as † Sigonius says) *Rome and the Roman dukedom came from the Greeks to the Roman pontiff*. Hereby he became in some measure a *born* or temporal prince, though his power was not fully established till some years afterwards: and before he was *born* at all, he could not answer the character of 'the little horn.' If then the beginning of the 1260 years of the reign of Antichrist is to be dated from the year 727, their end will fall near the year 2000 after Christ; and at the end of the 6000th year of the world, according to a very early tradition of Jews and Christians, and even of Heathens; great change and revolutions are expected both in the natural and in the moral world; and 'there remaineth' according to the words of the apostle, Heb. iv. 9. 'a sabbatism or holy rest to the people of God.'

IV. What Daniel hath described under the character of 'the little horn,' and 'the blasphemous king; what St Paul hath described under the character of 'the man of sin, the son of perdition;' what St John hath described under the character of 'the beast,' and 'the false prophet;' that same tyrannical, idolatrous, and blasphemous

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power,

* See Sigonius, Spanheim, Dupin, &c. &c.

† Ita Roma Romanusque Ducatus a Graecis ad Romanum pontificem pervenit. Sigon. Hist. de Regno. Ital. Lib. 3. Ad Ann. 727.

DISSERTATIONS ON

power, ecclesiastical writers usually denominate *Antichrist*, and having thus far traced his character and description, his rise, progress, and continuance, let us now proceed to consider his fall, when at the expiration of the prefixed period of 1260 years, his kingdom shall be destroyed for evermore. The prophets are not more expressive of his elevation, than they are of his destruction. They not only predict his downfall in general terms, but also describe the manner and circumstances of it: and St John's account being larger, and more circumstantial and particular, will be the best comment and explanation of the others. For my part I cannot pretend to prophecy, which is the common vanity of expositors of the Revelation; I can only represent events in the order wherein according to my apprehension the prophets have placed them. Sobriety and modesty are required in the interpretation of all prophecies, and especially in the explanation of things yet future. Only this much it may be proper to premise, not having seen so many of the prophecies fulfilled, you have the less reason to doubt of the completion of those which are to follow.

At this present time we are living under 'the sixth trumpet' and 'the second woe;' Rev. xi. the Ottoman empire is still subsisting, the beast is still reigning, and there are protestant witnesses still prophesying in sackcloth: and this 'sixth trumpet' and 'second woe,' must end, before the 'seventh trumpet' can sound, or 'the third woe' be poured out, which is to fall upon the kingdom of the beast. But before the end of 'the second woe,' it should seem that the papists will make a great and successful effort against the protestant religion. When the witnesses shall have nearly finished their testimony, that is towards the conclusion of their 1260 years, 'the beast shall make war against them, and shall overcome them.' They shall lie oppressed and dead as it were, to the great joy and triumph of their enemies; but they shall rise again after three years and a half, and the protestant religion shall become more glorious than ever, with a considerable diminution of the papal authority. According to the method and order wherein St John hath arranged these events, they must end before the end of 'the second woe,' or the fall of the Ottoman empire. Ezekiel xxxviii, xxxix. and Daniel

el, xi. 44, 45. have given some intimation, that the Ottoman empire shall be overthrown in opposing the settlement of Israel in their own land in the latter days. In the conclusion of the book of Daniel there are also some intimations, that the religion of Mohammed shall prevail in the east for as long a period of time as the tyranny of the little horn in the west. Very remarkable too it is, that * Mohammed first contrived his imposture in the year 606, the very same year wherein the tyrant Phocas made a grant of the supremacy to the Pope; and this might incline one to think that the 1260 years of the reign of Antichrist are to be dated from this time. But though they might rise together, yet they were not fully established together. The authority of Mohammed might be fully established in the seventh century, but that of the pope was not so till the eighth century; and therefore, as the one was established somewhat sooner, so it may also be subverted somewhat sooner than the other. The Pope indeed was established supreme in spirituals in the seventh century, but he became not a temporal *born or beast* till the eighth century.

When the Ottoman empire is overthrown, and 'the second woe is past,' then according to St John, xi. 14. 'the third woe cometh quickly,' which comprehends all the severe and terrible judgments of God upon the kingdom of the beast. In like manner when Daniel hath predicted the fall of the king of the north, or of the Ottoman empire, he subjoins immediately, xii. 1. that 'there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation, even to that same time; and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book;' agreeably to which St John also saith, xiii. 15. 'that whosoever was not found written in the book of life, was cast into the lake of fire.' The 1260 years of the reign of the beast, I suppose, and with the 1260 years of the witnesses prophesying in sackcloth; and now the destined time is come for the judgments of God to overtake him; for as he might exist before the 1260 years began, so he may exist likewise after they are finished, in order to be made an eminent example of divine justice. For the greater confirmation and illustration of

* See Pridcaux's Life of Mahomet.

this subject, and to make the stronger impression upon the minds of the readers, these judgments are displayed under a variety of figures and representations. First they are described in a more general manner, Rev. xix. 1. 'the harvest and draping of the earth,' and as 'the vintage and wine-press of the wrath of God.' Then they are represented in a more particular manner, Rev. xvi. 1. as 'the seven vials, or the seven last plagues; for in them is filled up the wrath of God,' which are so many signal judgments upon the kingdom of the beast, and so many steps and degrees of his ruin. Afterwards the fall of Rome is delineated, Rev. xviii. 2. as of another Babylon; and it is declared that she shall be destroyed by fire, and her destruction shall be a complete and total destruction, such as hath never yet been the fate of Rome. Some of the princes, who were once of her communion, * shall hate her as much as they loved her, and burn her with fire.' It is farther intimated that she shall be swallowed up by a subterraneous fire, shall sink 'like a great millstone in the sea,' and 'her smoke shall rise up for ever and ever,' and the soil and situation of Rome and the neighbouring countries greatly favour such a supposition. As St John saith, xi. 8, she 'spiritually is called Sodom; and she shall resemble Sodom in her punishment as well as in her crimes.' After the subversion of the capital city, Rev. xix. 'the beast and the false prophet,' the powers civil and ecclesiastical, with those who still adhere to their party, shall make one effort more; but it shall prove as weak and vain, as it is impious; they shall both be taken, and cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone. The destruction of Antichrist therefore, of himself as well as of his seat, shall be in a terrible manner 'by fire.' Daniel asserts the same thing, vii. 11. 'I beheld then because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake, I beheld even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame.' So likewise saith, St Paul & Thiel. i. 7, 8. 'The Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ;' and more particularly, ii. 8. 'The Lord shall consume the wicked one, the man of sin, with the spirit of his

his mouth; and shall destroy him with the brightness of his kingdom, according to the word spoken as to their and about the time of the fall of the Ottoman empire, and of the Christian Antichrist; the Jews shall turn to the Lord, and be restored to their own land; innumerable are the prophecies concerning the conversion and restoration of the people. Hear only what Hosea saith, who prophesied before the captivity of the ten tribes of Israel, *ii. 1, 5, 6*. 'The children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image or altar, and without an ephod, and without teraphim; nor shall divine manifestations be.' Afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God; and David their king, and shall bless the Lord and his goodness in the latter days. Hear also what Ezekiel saith, who prophesied during the captivity of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, *xxxvii. 21, 22*. 'Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I will take the children of Israel from among the heathen, whither they be gone, and will gather them on every side, and bring them into their own land: And they shall dwell in the land that I have given unto Jacob my servant, wherein your fathers have dwelt; and they shall dwell therein; even they and their children, and their childrens children for ever, and my servant David shall be their prince for ever,' *xxxix. 28, 29*. 'Then shall they know that I am the Lord their God, who caused them to be led into captivity among the heathen, but I have gathered them unto their own land, and have left none of them any more there: Neither will I hide my face any more from them; for I have poured out my spirit upon the house of Israel, saith the Lord God.' We cannot but remember what St Paul saith upon the same occasion, *Rom. xi. 25*. 'I would not, brethren; that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, that blindness in part is happened to Israel; until the fulness of the Gentiles be come, and so all Israel shall be saved.' Now these and the like predictions, we suppose, will take effect; and this great resolution be accomplished, about the time of the fall of the Ottoman empire, and of the Christian Antichrist. Ezekiel's 'Gog and Magog,' *xxxviii/xxxix.* we believe to be the Turks or Ottomans, and 'they shall come up against the children of Israel in the latter

latter days' to oppose their re-settlement in their own land, 'and they shall fall' in some extraordinary manner 'upon the mountains of Israel, they and the people that is with them: so the house of Israel shall know that I am the Lord their God, from that day and forward.' Daniel too, xi. 45. xii. 1. predicts the fall of the king of the north 'upon the glorious holy mountain: And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince who standeth for the children of Israel.' The restoration of the Jews and the fall of Antichrist shall also happen about the same time. If 'the sixth vial,' Rev. xvi. 12. which 'is poured out upon the great river Euphrates, whose waters are dried up to prepare a passage for the kings of the east,' is to be understood, as Mr Mede and others think, of the return of the Jews; then the return of the Jews is one of the seven last plagues of Antichrist. But this notion is expressed more clearly in Daniel, as it more immediately concerned his people, xi. 36. 'He shall prosper till the indignation,' that is, God's indignation against the Jews, 'be accomplished:' and again afterwards xii. 7. 'When God shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished.' In consequence and conformity to this doctrine a tradition hath prevailed * among the Jews, that the destruction of Rome and the redemption of Israel shall fall out about the same time.

When these great events shall come to pass, of which we collect from the prophecies this to be the proper order; the present witnesses shall be greatly exalted, and the 1260 years of their prophesying in sackcloth and of the tyranny of the beast shall end together; the conversion and restoration of the Jews succeed; then follows the ruin of the Ottoman empire, and then the total destruction of Rome and of Antichrist. When these great events, I say, shall come to pass, then shall the kingdom of Christ commence, or the reign of the saints upon earth. So Daniel expressly informs us, that the kingdom of Christ and the saints will be raised upon the ruins of the kingdom of Antichrist; vii. 26, 27. 'But the judgement shall sit' and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy

* See *Placita Hebraeorum Doctorum de Babylonis seu Regni excidio* in Mede's works, B. 5. chap. 8. p. 902.

destroy it unto the end: And the kingdom, and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominion shall serve and obey him.* So likewise St John saith, that upon the final destruction of 'the beast and the false prophet,' Rev. xx. 'Satan is bound for a thousand years; and I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them; and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years; But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection.' It is I conceive, to these great events, the fall of Antichrist, the re-establishment of the Jews, and the beginning of the glorious millennium, that the three different dates in Daniel of 1260 years, 1290 years, and 1335 years are to be referred: and as Daniel saith, xii. 12. 'Blessed is he that waiteth and cometh to the 1335 years;' so St John saith, xx. 6. 'Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection.' Blessed and happy indeed will be this period; and it is very observable, that the martyrs and confessors of Jesus, in popish as well as in pagan times, will be raised to partake of this felicity. Then shall all those gracious promises in the Old Testament be fulfilled of the amplitude and extent, of the peace and prosperity, of the glory and happiness of the church in the latter days. Then in the full sense of the words, Rev. xi. 15. 'shall the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.' According to * tradition these thousand years of the reign of Christ and the saints will be the seventh millennium of the world: for as God created the world in six days and rested on the seventh, so the world, it is argued, will continue six thousand years, and the seventh thousand will be the great *sabbatism* or holy rest to the people of God; 'one day,' 2 Pet. iii. 8. 'being with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.'

* See Burnet's Theory, B. 3. Ch. 5. B. 4. Ch. 6.

day.' According to * tradition too these thousand years of the reign of Christ and the saints are 'the great day of judgment;' in the morning or beginning whereof shall be the coming of Christ in flaming fire, and the particular judgment of Antichrist, and the first resurrection; and in the evening or conclusion whereof shall be the general resurrection of the dead, 'small and great, and they shall be judged every man according to their works.'

Prudence as well as modesty requires, that we should forbear all curious inquiries into the nature and condition of this future kingdom; as how Satan should be bound for a thousand years, and afterwards loosed again; how the raised saints shall cohabit with the living, and judge and govern the world; how Christ shall manifest himself to them, and reign among them: how the new Jerusalem, the city and church of the living God, shall descend from heaven to earth; how Satan shall at last deceive the nations, and what nations they shall be. These are points which the Holy Spirit hath not thought fit to explain; and folly may easily ask more questions about them, than wisdom can answer. Wisdom, in the mysterious things of God, and especially in the mysterious things of futurity, will still adhere to the words of scripture; and having seen the completion of so many particulars, will rest contented with believing that these also shall be, without knowing how they shall be. It is of the nature of most prophecies not to be fully understood, till they are fully accomplished, and especially prophecies relating to a state so different from the present as the millennium. Perfectly to comprehend these and all other prophecies may constitute a part of the happiness of that period, for then they will all be fulfilled, and the mystery of God shall be finished.* This however is very evident, that wickedness would soon over-run the world, if not restrained by an over-ruling providence; for no sooner is Satan loosed again; than 'the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth' come up against the holy city the number of whom is as the sand of the sea:† And therefore at the time appointed, after the general judgment, this world shall be destroyed, 2 Pet. iii. 10. 'the heavens shall pass away

* *Placita Hebraeorum Doctorum de Magno die Judicii in Media* 1535. B. 5. Ch. 8. p. 892.

away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also, and the works that are therein shall be burnt up.' Thus, Rev. xxi. 1. 'the first heaven and the first earth shall pass away, and a new heaven and a new earth shall succeed, 2. Pet. iii. 13. 'wherein dwelleth righteousness;' Rev. xxi. 3, 4. 'God himself shall be with men, and be their God; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor pain, for the former things are passed away.' 1 Cor. xv. 24, &c. 'Then cometh the end, when Christ shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority, and power. For he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet: the last enemy that shall be destroyed is death. And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him, that put all things under him, that God may be all in all.

Since then the corruptions of popery are so particularly foretold in scripture, and make so considerable a part of the ancient prophets, we have the less reason to be surprised and offended at them. While the Papists endeavour to corrupt and adulterate the doctrines of the prophets and apostles, they still accomplish their predictions. While they labour to destroy Christianity in one part, they unwittingly confirm and establish it in another. And since a time is certainly coming, wherein God will avenge himself on these idolaters, and require the blood of his servants at their hands, let us wait with 'the faith and the patience of saints,' till it be accomplished. We have seen the prophecies remarkably fulfilled in their success, and we shall see them as remarkably fulfilled too in their destruction. The power of the Pope is nothing near so great now as it was some years ago: It received its death-wound at the Reformation, of which it may languish for a time, but will never entirely recover, though its last struggles and efforts, like those of a dying monster, may be terrible and dangerous. In the end, the gospel will prevail over all enemies and opposers: Matt. xxi. 44. 'Whosoever shall fall on this stone, shall be broken; but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder.' We will conclude our discourse with the words of Ezra, so very applicable to us of the reformed religion: Ezr. ix.

24. 'After all that is come upon us for our evil deeds, and for our great trespass, seeing that thou our God hast punished us less than our iniquities deserve, and hast given us such deliverance as this,' a deliverance from the yoke and tyranny of the church of Rome; 'should we again break thy commandments, and join in affinity with the people of these abominations, wouldst thou not be angry with us till thou hadst consumed us, so that there should be no remnant nor escaping?'

CONCLUSION.

FROM these instances, which have been produced,* of prophecies and their completions, it is hoped, this conclusion may fairly be drawn in the words of St Peter, 2 Pet. i. 20, 21. that 'no prophecy of the scripture is of any private interpretation,' or the suggestion of any man's own spirit or fancy; for the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.' Other instances might have been alledged to the same purpose: but those prophecies which received their full accomplishment in ancient times, and even those which were accomplished in the person and actions of our blessed Saviour, are here considered; such only as relate to these latter ages, and either in the whole or in part are now fulfilling in the world, are made the subjects of these dissertations. This is proving our religion in some measure by ocular demonstration, is not 'walking by faith' only, but also 'by sight.' For you can have no reason to doubt of the truth of prophecy, and consequently of the truth of revelation when you see instances of things, which could no ways depend upon human conjecture, foretold with the greatest clearness, and fulfilled hundreds of years afterwards with the greatest exactness. Nay, you see prophecies, the latest whereof was delivered about 1700 years ago, and some of them above 3000 years ago, fulfilling at this very time, and cities, countries, and kingdoms in the very same condition, and all brought about in the very same manner, and

and with the very same circumstances, as the prophets had foretold.

You see the descendants of Shem and Japheth rising and enlarged in Asia and Europe, and perhaps in America, and 'the curse of servitude' still attending the wretched descendants of Ham in Africa. You see the posterity of Isaac multiplied exceedingly, and become 'a great nation' in the Arabians; yet living like 'wild men,' and shifting from place to place in the wilderness; 'their hand against every man, and every man's hand against them;' and still dwelling an independent and free people, 'in the presence of all their brethren,' and in the presence of all their enemies. You see the family of Esau totally extinct, and that of Jacob subsisting at this day; 'the sceptre departed from Judah,' and the people living no where in authority, every where in subjection; the Jews still dwelling alone among the nations, while 'the remembrance of Amalek' is 'utterly put out from under heaven.' You see the Jews severely punished for their infidelity and disobedience to their great prophet like unto Moles; plucked from off their own land, and removed into all the kingdoms of the earth; oppressed and spoiled evermore, and made 'a proverb and a bye-word among all nations.' You see Ephraim so broken as to be no more a people, while the whole nation is comprehended under the name of Judah; the Jews wonderfully preserved as a distinct people, while their great conquerors are every where destroyed; their land lying desolate, and themselves cut off from being the people of God, while the Gentiles are advanced in their room. You see Nineveh so completely destroyed, that the place thereof is not, and cannot be known; Babylon made 'a desolation for ever, a possession for the bittern, and pools of water;' Tyre become 'like the top of a rock, a place for siliers to spread their nets upon;' and Egypt 'a base kingdom, the basest of the kingdoms,' and still tributary and subject to strangers. You see of the four great empires of the world the fourth and last, which was greater and more powerful than any of the former, divided in the western part thereof into ten lesser kingdoms; and among them a power 'with a triple crown divers from the first,' with 'a mouth speaking very great things,' and with 'a look more stout than his fellows, speaking great words against the most High,' wearing out the saints of the most High, and

changing times and laws.' You see a power 'cast down the truth to the ground, and prosper and practise, and destroy the holy people, not regarding the God of our fathers, nor the desire of wives, but honouring Mahuzzim, Gods, protectors or saints-protectors, 'and causing' the priests of Mahuzzim 'to rule over many, and to divide the land for gain.' You see the Turks 'stretching forth their hand over the countries,' and particularly 'over the land of Egypt, the Lybians at their steps,' and the Arabians still 'escaping out of their hand. You see the Jews 'led away captive into all nations, and Jerusalem trodden down of the Gentiles,' and likely to continue so 'until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled,' as the Jews are by a constant miracle preserved a distinct people for the completion of other prophecies relating to them. You see one 'who opposeth and exalteth himself' above all laws divine and human, 'sitting as God in the church of God, and shewing himself that he is God, whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness.' You see a great *apostacy* in the Christian church, which consists chiefly in the worship of demons, angels, or departed saints, and is promoted 'through the hypocrisy of liars, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats.' You see the seven churches of Asia lying in the same forlorn and desolate condition that the angel had signified to St John, their 'candlestick removed out of its place,' their churches turned into mosques, their worship into superstition. In short you see the characters of 'the beast and the false prophet,' and 'the whore of Babylon,' now exemplified in every particular, and in a city that is seated 'upon seven mountains;' so that if the bishop of Rome had sat for his picture, a greater resemblance and likeness could not have been drawn.

As there is a near affinity between this and what Dr Clarke * hath said in the conclusion of his discourse of prophecies, it may be proper to confirm and illustrate the argument with so great an authority; and indeed these things are of such importance, and so deserving to be known, that they cannot be inculcated too frequently, nor shewn in too many lights.

* Clarke's Works, Vol. 2. The evidences of natural and revealed religion. p. 720, &c.

"I shall conclude this ~~hard~~ with pointing at some particular extraordinary prophecies, which deserve to be carefully considered and compared with the events, whether they could possibly have proceeded from chance or from enthusiasm. Some of them are of such a nature, as that they can only be judged of by persons learned in history; and these I shall but just mention. Others are obvious to the consideration of the whole world; and with those I shall finish what I think proper at this time to offer upon this subject.

"Concerning Babylon it was particularly foretold, that "it should be shut up and besieged by the Medes, Elamites, and Arminians; that the river should be dried up; that the city should be taken in the time of a feast, while her mighty men were drunken;" Which accordingly came to pass, when Belshazzar and all his thousand princes, who were drunk with him at the feast, were slain by Cyrus's soldiers. Also it was particularly foretold, that "God would make the country of Babylon a possession for the bittern, and pools of water;" Which was accordingly fulfilled by the overflowing and drowning of it, on the breaking down of the great dam in order to take the city. Could the correspondence of these events with the predictions, be the result of chance; but suppose these predictions were forged after the event, can the following ones also have been written after the event; or with any reason be ascribed to chance? "The wild beasts of the desert shall dwell there, and the owls shall dwell therein: and it shall be no more inhabited for ever, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation: As God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah, &c. "They shall not take of thee a stone for a corner, but thou shalt be desolate for ever saith the Lord: Babylon shall become heaps, a dwelling-place for dragons, an astonishment and an hissing without an inhabitant: "It shall sink, and shall not rise from the evil that I will bring upon her. Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah: It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation: Neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there, neither shall the shepherds make their fold there; but wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there."

* Concerning Egypt, was the following prediction forged after the event? or can it, with any reason, be ascribed to chance? Egypt shall be a base kingdom: It shall be the basest of kingdoms, neither shall it exalt itself any more above the nations: For I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule over the nations."

Concerning Tyre, the prediction is no less remarkable: "I will make thee like the top of a rock; thou shalt be a place to spread nets upon; thou shalt be built no more. Thou shalt be no more; the merchants among the people shall hiss at thee, thou shalt be a terror, and never shalt be any more. All they that know thee, among the people, shall be astonished at thee."

"The description of the extent of the dominion of that people, who were to possess Judea in the latter days; was it forged after the event? or can it reasonably be ascribed to chance? He shall come with horsemen, and with many ships, and shall overflow and pass over: He shall enter also into the glorious land, [and shall plant the tabernacles of his palace between the seas in the glorious holy mountain], and many countries shall be overthrown: But these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom and Moab and the chief of the children of Ammon. He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape. But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt; and the Lybians and Ethiopians shall be at his steps."

"When Daniel, in the vision of Nebuchadnezzar's image foretold four great successive monarchies; was this written after the event; or can the congruity of his description with the things themselves, reasonably be ascribed to mere chance?"

* * * * *

"When the same Daniel foretels a tyrannical power, which should wear out the saints of the most High, and they shall be given into his hand, until a time, and times, and the dividing of time; and again for † a time, times, and a half:" (Which can be no way applied to the short
"persecution

* "The same of which was so nearly spread, that Ezekiel, who was contemporary with Daniel, plainly alludes to it: when he says of the prince of Tyre, Chap. XXVIII. 3, *Thou art wiser than Daniel; there is no secret that they can hide from thee.*"

"Three years and a half, or 1260 days, is, according to the analogy of all the forementioned numbers, 1260 years."

persecution of Antiochus, because these prophecies are expressly declared to be for many days; concerning "what shall befall thy people in the latter days; for yet the vision is for many days; concerning the time of the end; what shall be in the last end of the indignation; concerning those who shall fall by the sword and by flame, by captivity and by spoil, many days; to try them, even to the time of the end, because it is yet for a time appointed; concerning a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation; the time when God shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people; the time of the end, till which the words are closed up and sealed; to which the prophet is commanded to shut up his words and seal the book, for many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased; even the end, till which Daniel was to rest, and then stand in his lot at the end of the days.") When Daniel, I say, foretels such a tyrannical power, to continue such a determined period of time: And St John prophesies, that the Gentiles should tread the holy city under foot, forty and two months;" which is exactly the same period of time with that of Daniel: And again, that "two witnesses clothed in sackcloth should prophesy a thousand two hundred and threescore days;" which is again exactly the very same period of time: And again, that the woman which fled into the wilderness from persecution, should continue there "a thousand two hundred and threescore days:" And again that she should "fly into the wilderness, for a time, and times, and half a time;" which is still the very same period: And again, that "a wild beast," a tyrannical power, "to whom it was given to make war with the saints, and to overcome them," was to "continue forty and two months," (still the very same period of time) and to have "power over all kindred, and tongues, and nations, so that all that dwell

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"upon

"* There has prevailed among learned men a very important error, as if the 1260 days (or years) here spoken of, took their beginning from the rise of the tyranny here described. Whereas on the contrary, the words of Daniel are express, that, not from the time of his rise, but after his having made war with the saints, and from the time of their being given into his hand, should be a time and times and the dividing of time, Ch. VII. 24, 25. And St John no less expressly says, that the time, not of the two witnesses prophesying (for in part of that time they had great power), but of their prophesying in sackcloth, should be a thousand two hundred and threescore days.

Rev.

"upon the earth should worship him." Is it credible or possible that ignorant and enthusiastical writers should by mere chance hit upon such coincidences of occult numbers? especially since St John could not possibly take the numbers from Daniel, if he understood Daniel to mean nothing more than the short persecution of Antiochus. And if he did understand Daniel to mean a much longer and greater and more remote tyranny, which John himself prophesied of as in his time still future; then the wonder is still infinitely greater, that in those early times, when there was not the least footstep in the world of any such power as St John distinctly describes, (but which now is very conspicuous, as I shall presently observe more particularly) it should ever enter into the heart of man to conceive so much as the possibility of such a power, sitting not upon the pavilion of heathen persecutors, but expressly, 2 Thes. ii. 4. in the temple and upon the seat of God himself.

"But these prophecies, which either relate to particular places, or depend upon the computation of particular periods of time, are (as I said) of such a nature, as that they cannot be judged of, but by persons skilled in history. There are some others more general, running through the whole scripture, and obvious to the consideration of the whole world.

"For instance: It was foretold by Moses, that when
 "the Jews forsook the true God, they should be removed
 "into all the kingdoms of the earth; should be scattered
 "among the Heathen, among the nations, among all
 "people from the one end of the earth even unto the o-
 "ther: should there be left few in number among the Hea-
 "then, and pine away in their iniquity in their enemies
 "lands; and should become an astonishment, a proverb,
 "and a bye-word, among all nations; and that among
 "these nations they should find no ease, neither should
 "the sole of their foot have rest; but the Lord should
 "give them a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and
 "torrow of mind; and send a faintness into their hearts

" in

"Rev. xi. 3. And the persecuted woman, after her flight, was to be
 "actually in the wilderness of a thousand two hundred and threescore days.
 "ch. xii. 6. Wherefore also the forty and two months; (the very same
 "period) during which time power was given unto the saints to con-
 "tinue, (in the original it is *to do what he pleased*, Rev.
 "xiii. 3. evidently ought not to be reckoned from his rise or from
 "the time when the ten kings (ch. XVII. 12.) received power with him;
 "but from the time of his having totally overcome the saints, and of
 "his being overriden by all that dwell upon the earth. ch. XIII. 7, 8.

"In the lands of their enemies; so that the sound of a shalaken leaf should chase them." Had any thing like this, in Moses's time, ever happened to any nation? Or was there in nature any probability, that any such thing should ever happen to any people? that, when they were conquered by their enemies, and led into captivity, they should neither continue in the place of their captivity, nor be swallowed up and lost among their conquerors, but be scattered among all the nations of the world, and hated by all nations for many ages, and yet continue a people; or could any description of the Jews, written at this day possibly be a more exact and lively picture of the state they have now been in for many ages; than this prophetic description given by Moses, more than 3000 years ago?

"The very same thing is in like manner continually predicted through all the following prophets; that God would scatter them among the Heathen: that he would cause them to be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth; that he would scatter them into all the winds, and disperse them through the countries of the Heathen; that he would sift them among all nations, like as corn is sifted in a sieve; that in all the kingdoms of the earth, whither they should be driven, they should be a reproach and a proverb, a taunt and a curse, and an astonishment and a hissing; and that they should abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod, and without teraphim." And here concerning the predictions of Ezekiel 'tis remarkable in particular, that they being spoken in the very time of the Babylonian captivity, 'tis therefore evident from the time of his prophesying, as well as from the nature and description of the thing itself, that he must needs be understood of that latter captivity into all places, which was to happen after the fulfilling the time of that age, wherein God was first to bring them again (out of the Babylonian captivity) into the land where they should build a temple, but not like that which afterwards (after their final return) should be built for ever with a glorious building. The forecited prophecies (I say) must of necessity be understood of that wide and long dispersion, which in the New Testament also is expressly mentioned by our Saviour and by St Paul.

"'Tis also farther, both largely and distinctly predicted, as well by Moses himself, as by all the following prophets

phets, that notwithstanding this unexampled dispersion of God's people yet for all that, when they be in the land of their enemies, God will not destroy them utterly; but when they shall call to mind among all the nations, whither God has driven them, and shall return unto the Lord, he will turn their captivity, and gather them from all nations, from the utmost parts of heaven, even in the latter days: That though he makes a full end of all other nations, yet he will not make a full end of them; but a remnant of them shall be preserved, and return out of all countries whither God has driven them: That he will sift the house of Israel among all nations, like as corn is sifted in a sieve: yet shall not the least grain fall upon the earth: That the Lord set his hand again the second time, to recover the remnant of his people, and shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the out-casts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah, from the four corners of the earth: For I will bring thy seed from the east, saith the Lord, and gather thee from the west; I will say to the north, Give up; and to the south, Keep not back; Bring my sons from far, and my daughters from the ends of the earth: Behold, I will lift up my hand to the Gentiles, and set up my standard to the people, and they shall bring thy sons in their arms, and thy daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders: For a small moment have I forsaken thee, but with great mercy will I gather thee: In a little wrath I hid my face from thee, for a moment; but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee. And that these prophecies might not be applied to the return from the 70 years captivity in Babylon, (which moreover was not a dispersion into all nations), they are expressly referred to the latter days, not only by Moses, but by Hosea, who lived long after, (For the children of Israel shall abide **MANY DAYS** without a king and without a prince, and without a sacrifice; **AFTERWARD** they shall return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their king, and shall fear the Lord and his goodness in the **LATTER DAYS**) and by Ezekiel, who lived in the captivity itself; *After MANY DAYS* [speaking of those who should oppose the return of the Israelites] *thou shalt be visited in the **LATTER YEARS**, thou shalt come into the land; upon the people that are gathered out of the nations; In that day, when my people of Israel dwelleth in the land, thou shalt come up against them, it shall be in the **LATTER DAYS**, the prediction therefore necessarily belong to that age when of the Gentiles shall be fulfilled, and the fulness of the Gentiles*

Consider be come in. And that, through all the changes which have happened in the kingdoms of the earth, from the days of Moles to the present time, which is more than 3000 years, nothing should have happened, to prevent the possibility of the accomplishment of these prophecies; but on the contrary, the state of the Jewish and Christian nations at this day, should be such as renders them easily capable not only of a figurative but even of a literal completion in every particular, if the will of God be so; this (I say) is a miracle, which hath nothing parallel to it in the phenomena of nature.

"Another instance, no less extraordinary, is as follows: Daniel foretels a kingdom upon the earth, which shall be divers from all kingdoms, divers from all that were before it, exceeding dreadful, and shall devour the whole earth: That among the powers into which this kingdom shall be divided, there shall arise one power divers from the rest, who shall subdue unto himself three of the first powers, and he shall have a mouth speaking very great things, and a look more stout than his fellows. He shall make war with the saints, and prevail against them. And he shall speak great words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws; and they shall be given into his hand, for a long season; even till the judgment shall sit, and the kingdom under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the saints of the most High. He shall exalt himself and magnify himself above every God, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of Gods;—Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers nor † the desire of women, nor regard any God; for he shall magnify himself above all. And in his estate shall he honour ‡ the God of forces, and § a God whom his fathers knew not, shall be honour.—Thus shall he do in the most strong holds with a strange God, whom he shall acknowledge and increase with glory; and he shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain. Suppose now all this to be spoken by Daniel, of nothing more than the short persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes; which that it cannot be, I have shewn above. But suppose it were, and that it was all forged after the event: Yet this cannot

§ "The God of Gods as in the foregoing verse."

† "Forbidding to marry, 1 Tim. IV. 3."

‡ "God's protectors, as 'tis in the margin of the Bible, or 'protectors.'"

§ Changing times and laws, Ch. VII. 25; setting up new religions.

not be the case of St Paul and St John, who describe expressly a *like* power, and in *like* words; speaking of things to come in the latter days, of things still future, in their time, and of which there were then no footsteps, no appearance in the world. *The day of Christ*, saith St Paul, *shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition: Who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God, sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God: Whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders; and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness.* Again: *The Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils;—Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, &c.*—St John in like manner prophesies of a wild beast, or tyrannical power, to whom was given great authority, and a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies: *And he opened his mouth in blasphemy against God: And it was given unto him to make war with the saints, and to overcome them; and power was given him over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations; and all that dwell upon the earth shall worship him—And he that exerciseth his power before him—doth great wonders,—and deceiveth them that dwell upon the earth, by the means of those miracles which he had power to do—And he causeth that no man might buy or sell save he that had the mark or the name of the beast;—And the kings of the earth have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast;—even peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues.—For God hath put in their hearts (in the hearts of the kings) to fulfil his will and to agree and give their kingdom unto the beast, until the words of God shall be fulfilled. The name of the person, in whose hands the reins or principal direction of the exercise of this power is lodged, is Mystery Babylon the Great, the mother of harlots, and abominations*

“ of
“ “ ‘Tis therefore a *Christian* (not an *Infidel*) power, that he
“ here speaks of.”

† “ Doctrines concerning *Demons*, that is, ghosts or souls of
“ (good or bad) men departed. Epiphanius joining this text al-
“ leges the following words, as part of the text itself. *τοὺς ἀπο-
“ βεβηκότες ἀποστόλους, οὗς καὶ ἐν ἱερουσολέμοις ἐκείνοις. For they shall be,
“ says the apostle; worshippers of the dead, even as the dead were anciently
“ worshipped in Israel. And he applies the whole to the worship-
“ pers of the blessed Virgin. Harcl. 78. Sect. 22.”*

“ of the earth : with whom the kings of the earth * have
 “ committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth
 “ have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication.
 “ And she herself is drunken with the blood of the saints,
 “ and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus : And by
 “ her † forceries are all nations deceived : And in her is
 “ found the blood of prophets, and of saints, and of all
 “ that are slain upon the earth. And this person, (the
 “ political person) to whom these titles and characters be-
 “ long, is that great city (standing upon seven mountains)
 “ which reigneth over the kings of the earth.”

“ If in the days of St Paul and St John, there was any
 footsteps of such a sort of power as this in the world ; or,
 if there ever had been any such power in the world ; or,
 if there was then any appearance of probability, that could
 make it enter into the heart of man to imagine, that there ever
 could be any such kind of power in the world, much less in
the temple or church of God : And, if there be not now such
 a power actually and conspicuously exercised in the world :
 And if any picture of this power, drawn after the event, can
 now describe it more plainly and exactly than it was origi-
 nally described in the words of the prophecy : Then may it
 with some degree of plausibleness be suggested, that the
 prophecies are nothing more than enthusiastic imaginations.”

For these things you have the attestation of past, and
 the experience of present times ; and you cannot well be
 deceived if you will only believe your own eyes and ob-
 servation. You actually see the completion of many of
 the prophecies in the state of men and things around you,
 and you have the prophecies themselves recorded in books,
 which books have been read in public assemblies these
 1700 or 2000 years, have been dispersed into several coun-
 tries, have been translated into several languages, and quo-
 ted and commented upon by different authors of different
 ages and nations, so that there is no room to suspect so much
 as a possibility of forgery or illusion.

The prophecies too, though written by different men in
 “ different ages, have yet a visible connection and dependen-
 cy, an entire harmony and agreement one with another.
 At the same time there is such perfect harmony, there is

also

* “ Have been led into idolatrous practices.”

† “ *Φαρμακία* (*pharmakia*) methods of making men religious
 “ without virtue.”

also great variety; and the same things are foretold by different prophets in a different manner and with different circumstances; and the latter usually improves upon the former. They are all excellent in their different kinds; and you may observe the beauty and sublimity of the style and diction of the prophets even from their quotations which have been made from their writings. Indeed they are very well worthy of your serious perusal and meditation, not only considered as prophets, but considered even as authors, for their noble images and descriptions, their bold tropes and figures, their instructive precepts, their pathetic exhortations, and other excellencies, which would have been admired in any ancient writers whatever.

Obscurities there are indeed in the prophetic writings, for which many good reasons may be assigned, and this particularly, because prophecies are the only species of writing, which is designed more for the instruction of future ages than of the times wherein they are written. If the prophecies had been delivered in plain terms, some persons might be for hastening their accomplishment; as others might attempt to defeat it; men's actions would not appear so free, nor God's providence so conspicuous in their completion. But though some parts are obscure enough to exercise the church, yet others are sufficiently clear to illuminate it; and the obscure parts, the more they are fulfilled, the better they are understood. In this respect, as the world groweth older, it groweth wiser. Time that detracts something from the evidence of other writers, is still adding something to the credit and authority of the prophets. Future ages will comprehend more than the present, as the present understands more than the past: and the perfect accomplishment will produce a perfect knowledge of all the prophecies.

In any explication of the prophecies you cannot but observe the sublimity of human learning to the study of divinity. One thing is particularly requisite, a competent knowledge of history sacred and profane, ancient and modern. Prophecy is, as I may say, history anticipated and contracted; history is prophecy accomplished and dilated; and the prophecies of scripture contain, as you see, the fate of the most considerable nations, and the substance of the most memorable transactions in the world from the earliest to the latest times. Daniel and

St John, with regard to these later times, are more copious and particular than the other prophets. They exhibit a series and succession of the most important events from the first of the four great empires to the consummation of all things. Their prophecies may really be said to be a summary of the history of the world, and the history of the world is the best comment upon their prophecies. I must confess it was my application to history, that first struck me, without thinking of it, with the amazing justness of the former prophecies. I observed the predictions all along to be verified in the course of events : and the more you know of ancient and modern times, and the farther you search into the truth of history, the more you will be satisfied of the truth of prophecy. They are only pretenders to learning and knowledge, who are patrons of infidelity. You have heard, in these discourses, of the two greatest men, whom this country, or perhaps the whole world hath produced, the Lord Bacon and Sir Isaac Newton, the one wishing for a history of the several prophecies of scripture compared with the events, the other writing *Observations upon the prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalyps of St John* : and the testimony of two such (not to mention others) is enough to weigh down the authority of all the infidels who ever lived.

You see what standing monuments the Jews are every where of divine vengeance for their infidelity ; and beware therefore of the like crime, lest the like punishment should follow ; ' for, Rom. xi. 21. if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he also spare not thee.' Our infidelity would be worse even than that of the Jews, for, they receive and own the prophecies, but do not see and acknowledge their completion in Jesus, whereas our modern infidels reject both the prophecy and the completion together. But what strange dissimulation must it be, when there is all the evidence that history can afford for the prophecy, and in many cases even ocular demonstration for the completion, to be still obstinate and unbelieving ? May we not very properly bestow upon such persons that just reproach of our Saviour, Luke xxiv. 25. ' O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken !' But I have good hope and confidence in God,

that, Heb. x. 39. 'we are not of them who draw back unto perdition, but of them who believe to the saving of the soul.'

Indeed if it was once or twice only that the thing had succeeded and the event had fallen out agreeably to the prediction, we should not so much wonder, we should not lay such a stress upon it; it might be ascribed to a lucky contingency, or owing to rational conjecture; but that so many things, so very unlikely ever to happen, should be so particularly foretold, and so many ages afterwards so punctually fulfilled, transcends without doubt all the skill and power of man, and must be referred into the omniscience and omnipotence of God. Nothing certainly can be a stronger proof of a person's acting by divine commission, and speaking by divine inspiration; and it is assigned in scripture as the test and criterion between a true and a false prophet, Deut. xviii. 22. 'When a prophet speaketh in the name of the Lord, if the thing follow not nor come to pass, that is the thing which the Lord hath not spoken, but the prophet hath spoken it presumptuously; and in another place, Jer xxviii. 9. 'The prophet who prophesieth of peace, when the word of the prophet shall come to pass, then shall the prophet be known that the Lord hath truly sent him.' It is so much the peculiar prerogative of God, or of those who are commissioned by him, certainly to foretel future events, that it is made a challenge to all the false gods, Is. xli. 21, 28. 'Produce your cause, saith the Lord; bring forth your strong reasons, saith the king of Jacob; Show the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are gods.' Lying oracles have been in the world; but all the wit and malice of men and devils cannot produce any such prophecies as are recorded in scripture; and what stronger attestations can you require to the truth and divinity of the doctrine? No man can bring with him more authentic credentials of his coming from God: and the more you shall consider and understand them, the more you will be convinced that, Rev. xix. 10. 'the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy.'

If to the prophecies you add the miracles, so salutary and beneficial, so publicly wrought and so credibly attested, above any other matters of fact whatever, by those who

who were eye-witnesses of them, and sealed the truth of their testimony with their blood; if to these external confirmations you add likewise the internal excellence of Christianity, the goodness of the doctrine itself so moral, so perfect, so divine, and the purity and perfection of its motives and sanctions, above any other system of morality or religion in the world: if you seriously consider and compare all these things together, it is almost impossible not to feel conviction and to cry out, as Thomas did after handling our Saviour, John xx. 28. 'My Lord and my God!' This is only one argument out of many, that there must be a divine revelation, if there is any truth in prophecy: and there must be truth in prophecy, as we have shewn in several instances, and might shew in several more, if there is any dependence upon the testimony of others, or upon our own senses, upon what we read in books, or upon what we see in the world:

Men are sometimes apt to think, that if they could but see a miracle wrought in favour of religion, they would readily resign all their scruples, believe without doubt, and obey without reserve. The very thing that you desire, you have. You have the greatest and most striking of miracles in the series of scripture-prophecies accomplished; accomplished, as we see, in the present state of almost all nations, the Africans, the Egyptians, the Arabians, the Turks, the Jews, the Papists, the Protestants, Nineveh, Babylon, Tyre, the seven churches of Asia, Jerusalem and Rome. And this is not a transient miracle, ceasing almost as soon as performed; but is permanent, and protracted through the course of many generations. It is not a miracle delivered only upon the report of others, but is subject to your own inspection and examination. It is not a miracle exhibited only before a certain number of witnesses, but is open to the observation and contemplation of all mankind; and after so many ages is still growing, still improving to future ages. What stronger miracle therefore can you require for your conviction? or what will avail if this be found ineffectual? Alas, if you reject the evidence of prophecy, neither would you be persuaded though one should rise from the dead. What can be plainer? You see or may see with your own eyes the scripture-prophecies accom-

DISSERTATIONS &c.

plished: and if the scripture-prophecies are accomplished, the scripture must be the word of God; and if the scripture is the word of God, the Christian religion must be true.

It is hoped, therefore, that the same address may be applied to you, which St Paul made to king Agrippa, Acts xxvi. 27, 28. 'Believest thou the prophets? I know that thou believest:' and God dispose your heart to answer again. Not only 'almost, but altogether thou persuadest me to be a Christian!' For your encouragement remember, that, Matth. x. 41. 'he who receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall receive a prophet's reward.' Wherefore, 1. Thess. v. 19, &c. 'quench not the Spirit; despise not prophesying; prove all things, hold fast that which is good.' The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you. Amen.

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